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THE

WORKS

OF THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

WILLIAM LAUD, D.D.

SOMETIME LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

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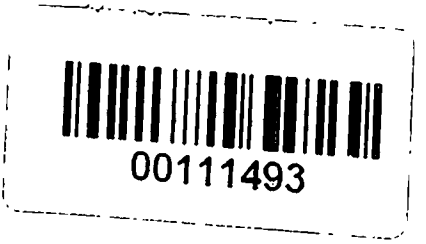
VOL. III.

DEVOTIONS, DIARY, AND HISTORY.

OXFORD:

JOHN HENRY PARKER.

M DCCC LIII.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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE present volume contains four separate works of Archbishop Laud.

I. The Summary of Devotions, reprinted from the first genuine Edition, printed in Oxford in 1667, from the original MS. preserved in St. John's College. As the MS. has unhappily been lost, it seemed the best course to follow accurately the above named Edition, which was published during the lifetime of Dr. Bayly, Dean of Salisbury, and President of St. John's College, the Archbishop's Executor, and his nephew by marriage. The original MS. had been seized, with the Archbishop's other papers, by Prynne, and after its restoration to the Archbishop, had passed, doubtless, with such of his other papers as had escaped the general wreck, into the hands of his Executor. The first part of the Devotions, reaching to the end of the paragraph headed 'Morbus,' (p. 51 of the present Edition,) had previously appeared in 1650, and 1663, under the title of "Officium Quotidianum, or, A Manual of Private Devotions, by the Most Reverend Father in God, Dr. William Laud, late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury." This has been collated for the present reprint, and any important variations noticed.

After the publication of the Oxford Edition of 1667, there appeared the following :—

1667. London, in smaller size than the Oxford Edition of the same year, and with only the Lambeth imprimatur.

1683. Under the following title, "The Daily Office of a Christian, being the Devotions of the Most Reverend Father in God, Dr. William Laud, late Archbishop of Canterbury. The Fourth Edition. Wherein

several Catechetical Paraphrases, and other very excellent Prayers, selected out of the Primitive Writers, formerly published in Latin, are now made English, and the whole reduced to an exact method for the Benefit of the Devout. London, printed for Matthew Gilliflower, William Hensman, and are to be sold at their shops in Westminster Hall. 1683."

1687. Same title, Fifth Edition. London, reprinted for T. B. M. G. and W. H., and are to be sold by Richard Heavisid, over against the Devil Tavern, near Temple Bar.

1688. (Also termed) Fifth Edition; same title-page; printers' names not given.

1705. Same title. Sixth Edition. London, printed for Samuel Keble, at the Great Turk's Head in Fleet Street, and R. Wellington at the Dolphin and Crown at the West End of St. Paul's Churchyard; and W. and M. Gilliflower at the Black Eagle in Westminster Hall.

1838. Oxford. A reprint of the Oxford Edition of 1667.

II. The Diary of the Archbishop, which has been carefully collated with the original MS. in the Library of St. John's College, Oxford.

III. Notes on Prynne's Breviate, now first published, of which a full account will be found in an Introductory Note.

IV. The History of the Archbishop's Troubles and Trial (the First Part), which has also been collated with the original MS., and the various corrections and additions indicated in the notes.

The next volume will contain the remaining portion of the History, to which will be added an Appendix of such Documents as may be considered necessary for its illustration.

JAMES BLISS.

Ogbourne St. Andrew,
Dec. 4, 1852.

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A

SUMMARIE

OF

DEVOTIONS,

Compiled and Uſed by

Dr. WILLIAM LAUD,

Sometime Ld. Arch-Bishop of

CANTERBVRY.

Now Publiſhed according to the Copy written with his own hand, and reſerved in the Archives of *St. John Baptist's* Colledge Library in OXON.

OXFORD,

Printed by *William Hall, Anno Dom.* 1667.

IMPRIMATUR,

GILBERTUS CANT.

Dat. Lambethæ, Dec. 12. 1666.

IMPRIMATUR,

JOHAN. FELL,
Vicecan.

Oxon. Dec. 28. 1666.

ET CONVERSUS VIVIFICASTI ME.

Psal. lxx. 20. [Edit. Vulg.]

O COME hither and hearken, all ye that fear God, and I will tell you what He hath done for my soul. Psal. lxvi. 16.

Pater noster,
Qui es in Cœlis,
Sanctificetur
Nomen Tuum.

Adveniat Regnum Tuum.

Fiat voluntas Tua, sicut in Cœlo, et in Terra.
Panem

Nostrum
Quotidianum da nobis hodie.
Et remitte nobis debita, sicut, &c.
Et ne nos inducas in tentationem:
Sed libera nos a malo.

Quia Tuum est Regnum,
Potentia,

Læsus est, sed Pater.
Eminenter, non inclusive[1].
In me, per me, super me.
Patris in nobis, ut simus filii Patris nostri.
Ut destruatur regnum peccati, per quod regnant Mors et Diabolus.
In me, qui sum terra, sicut a sanctis angelis.
Supercœlestem et corporeum.
Proprium, licite acquisitum.
Pro quotidiana necessitate.

Talenta dimitte nobis minuta remittentibus.
Nec sinas intrare ductos pronosque.
Ab auctore mali extra nos, Diabolo et Mundo; intra nos, nobis ipsis: et a malo culpæ, per gratiam; pœnæ, per misericordiam; omni, per pacem.
Absolutum in se.
Independens ab aliis.

Oratio Dominica[a].
[1] Gerson aliter, par. 3. p. 1147[b].

[a] [See Bp. Andrewes' "notes written with his own hand in his Service Book," English Works, vol. vii. p. 148.]

[b] [Compendium Theologiæ, Tract. v. de Septem Petitionibus Orat. Dom. Op., tom. i. col. 304. B.]

Gloria:	Circumfulgens omnia et in omnibus.
Tuum.	Et a Te, et per Te, et ad Te, in gloria et salute servorum Tuorum. Amen.

The Preface. Petitions.

Our Father, which art in heaven,

1. Hallowed be Thy Name.
2. Thy kingdom come.
3. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.
4. Give us this day our daily bread.
5. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.
6. And lead us not into temptation;
7. But deliver us from evil.

The Doxology.

For Thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

SYMBOLUM APOSTOLICUM DIVISUM IN ARTICULOS.

1. I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.
2. And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord.
3. Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.
4. He suffered under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, dead, and buried.
5. He descended into hell; the third day He rose again from the dead.
6. He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty.
7. From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.
8. I believe in the Holy Ghost.
9. The holy Catholic Church; the Communion of saints.
10. The Forgiveness of sins.
11. The Resurrection of the body.
12. And the Life everlasting. Amen.

OFFICIUM QUOTIDIANUM.

IN NOMINE PATRIS, ET FILII, ET SPIRITUS SANCTI. AMEN.

Pro Gratia præveniente. Liturg. Anglic.

O LORD, I am risen up, and fallen prostrate before Thee; prevent me, I beseech Thee, in all my doings with Thy most gracious favour, and further me with Thy continual help; that in all my works begun, continued, and ended in Thee, I may glorify Thy holy Name, and finally by Thy mercy obtain everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Confessio cum Precatione. Per L. A. W.[a]

Almighty God and most merciful Father, all merciful, mercy itself; I have erred wittingly, and strayed willingly, nay run from Thy ways, more like an untamed heifer, than a lost or wandering sheep. I have followed too much, even altogether, the absurd devices and brutish desires of my own heart. I have offended against, nay been offended at Thy holy, most holy laws; I have left undone, not done at all, those things which I ought to have done; and I have done, done nothing else, but those things which I ought not to have done; and there is no health, no hope of health in me. But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon me, miserable, most miserable sinner, the greatest sinner, and most unthankful for so great grace. Spare me, and them all, O God, which confess their faults; restore me, and all them that be penitent, that desire to be penitent, that wish they were, would be glad if they were so, that fear they are not enough, and are sorry they are no more: for this is according to Thy promises, most precious, most gracious, most sweet promises, declared unto mankind in Christ Jesu our Lord. Grant therefore, O most merciful Father, for His sake, who is our

[a] [Lancelot Andrewes, Bp. of Winchester. See his "notes written with his own hand in his Service Book," English Works, vol. vii. p. 147.]

Redeemer, Advocate, Author and Finisher of our Faith, our Propitiation, Righteousness, and Justification; that I and all penitents may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life, to the glory of Thy holy Name, and the salvation of our own souls. Amen.

Pro Remissione Peccatorum. O eternal God and merciful Father, pardon, I beseech Thee, all the sins, omissions and commissions, thoughts, words, and deeds, by which I have provoked Thee unto anger, from the time of my birth to this present moment. That no one, nor all of my sins together, may ever be able to cry oftener or louder in Thine ears for vengeance, than the cry of my prayers may ascend up unto Thee for mercy and for forgiveness, and obtain that they sue for. Particularly I humbly beseech Thee, forgive unto me my great and my clamorous sins, such as are, &c.

O Lord, against heaven, and against Thee have I sinned, and committed foul transgressions in Thy sight, but I beseech Thee wipe them all out of the book of remembrances which Thou hast written, through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour. Amen.

Pro Donis. Give unto me, O Lord, I humbly beseech Thee, a wise, a sober, a patient, an understanding, a devout, a religious, a courageous heart; chaste and temperate reins and thought; a soul full of devotion to do Thee service, strength against all temptations, especially the temptations of, &c.; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Gratiarum Actio. O Lord, I give Thee humble and hearty thanks, increase my thankfulness, I beseech Thee, for all benefits and blessings both spiritual and temporal, which in the riches of Thy great mercy Thou hast liberally poured down upon me, but especially spiritual. Lord, let me not live but to praise and magnify Thee and Thy glorious Name. Particularly I give Thee most unfeigned thanks for my preservation from the time of my birth to this present moment, for, &c. For bringing me safe to the beginning of this day, in which and all the days of my life, I beseech Thee, preserve me from sin and from danger, in soul and in body, that all my thoughts,

words, and works may tend to the honour and glory of Thy Name, the good of Thy Church, the discharge of my duty, the salvation of my soul in the day of my appearance and account to be made before Thee, through Jesus Christ, our only Saviour and Redeemer. Amen.

Pro Ecclesia Catholica.

O eternal God and merciful Father, I humbly beseech Thee, bless Thy holy Catholic Church, wheresoever spread upon the face of the whole earth. Good Lord, purge it from all atheism, heresy, schism, superstition, factious maintenance of groundless opinions; that one Faith, one Lord, one Baptism, may in all places be uniformly professed, as Thy Church is, and can be but one. And grant, good Lord, that I may be, and continue, a faithful, living, and a working member under Christ the Head, in that Church the Body, all the days of my life, and through the hour of my death, through the merits, and by the grace, of the same Jesus Christ, our Lord and only Saviour. Amen.

Pro Ecclesia Particulari.

O merciful God, bless this particular Church in which I live; make it, and all the members of it, sound in faith, and holy in life, that they may serve Thee, and Thou bless them, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Pro Rege.

Lord, bless our most gracious Sovereign, treasure up in him all Thy hidden blessings, make him and keep him a devoted servant to Thee, a constant patron of the Church and truth; that he may live long, and be full of honourable success all his days, in his person, in his actions, in his queen, in his children, in his servants, in his people, and crowned with glory after life; and in that good time that shall be best both for him and us, make him a joyful father of happy and successful children. Under him bless the whole state, ecclesiastical and civil, that righteousness and peace may kiss each other, and we serve and honour Thee for ever. Amen.

Pro Amicis et Consanguineis.

Good Lord, bless all the places to which Thou hast made me have any nearer reference, the place where I was born, &c.; every soul contained in any of these, all my friends, kindred, acquaintance, any unto whom Thou hast made me

any way beholding; especially my nearer and my bosom friends, Dr. —— &c. All those, &c. Lord, I beseech Thee, forgive me and them all our sins, and continue us Thy servants both in life and death. Amen.

Pro Servis [b].

Gracious Father, bless my servants, and make them Thine; give them grace to serve Thee first, then me, with faithfulness, soberness, and diligence. Make me ever willing, and in some measure able, to repay unto them the time and the strength which they either have or shall spend to do me service, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Pro Afflictis. [S.] Aug. [lib.] ii. cont. Advers. Leg. et Prophet. cap. 2.[c]

O Lord, bless all the afflicted members of the body of Thy Son, wheresoever, howsoever afflicted. Send them constant patience or speedy deliverance, as seems best to Thee, and is best for them, according to their several wants and necessities whatsoever; (particularly, &c.) And do unto them according to all those mercies which I would or should desire Thou shouldst show to my own soul, if at any time Thou shalt be pleased to make my estate as theirs is at this present. And, O Lord, be merciful. Amen.

Pro Omnibus, etiam Inimicis.

Blessed Father, bless all sorts of men in their particulars; mine enemies with the forgiveness of sins: turn their hearts, that they may no longer hate Thy servant; and if they will not be turned, deliver me not over, I beseech Thee, into their power. And next after the salvation of my soul, I humbly beg it, deliver me not into the hands of men, to the shame or scorn of the world. Amen.

Submissio Mei.

O Domine Jesu! Da quod jubes, et jube quod vis[d]. Facias animam meam paratam in adventum Tuum, veni quando vis. Des mihi ad minimum sufficientem, si placet pacatissimam patientiam, et veni quomodo vis, O Tu, qui salus es

[b] [The interest which Abp. Laud felt for his servants, may be illustrated by reference to his Diary: "1624. Oct. 2. Saturday. In the evening, at Mr. Windebancks, my ancient servant, Adam Torless, fell into a swoon; and we had much ado to recover him, but, I thank God, we did." "1641. Sept. 23. Thursday. Mr. Adam Torless, my ancient, loving, and faithful servant, then my steward, after he had served me full forty-two years, died, to my great loss and grief." See also his remembrances of them in his will, (Works, vol. iv.)]

[c] [Op., tom. viii. col. 895. A.]

[d] [S. Aug. Conf. lib. x. cap. xxix. (§ 40.) Op., tom. i. col. 312. D.]

omnium sperantium in Te. Et insuper interpone, obsecro, O Domine Jesu, mortem, crucem, passionem, meritum et sanguinem Tuum inter judicium Tuum et animam meam, nunc et semper, et præcipue in hora mortis meæ. Quæ mors (obnixe precor) nunquam sit subitanea, nunquam adveniat et inveniat me imparatum; nunquam ita adveniendo sæviat, quin ut retineam fidem, spem, et charitatem, memoriam et intellectum sanum usque ad extremum halitum. Et esto mihi in Deum protectorem. Des peccatis meis misericordiam et veniam, Ecclesiæ tuæ pacem et concordiam, mihi peccatorum primo gratiam in hac vita et gloriam in futura. Ita, ita venias, O Domine Jesu, et miserere mei. Amen. Hora Mortis.

Lord, here I am, do with me as seems best in Thine own eyes; only give me, I humbly beseech Thee, a penitent and a patient spirit to expect Thee. Amen.

Lord, make my service acceptable to Thee while I live, and my soul ready for Thee when I die. Amen.

Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

SUNDAY.

HORA PRIMA,
i. e. MANE.

O LORD, by Thy mercy I am risen out of my grave, where I might have slept in death, but that Thou preservedst me. Make it, I beseech Thee, a resurrection to grace in this life, and to glory in the life to come, through Jesus Christ, Who merited both for us. Amen.

This day by the resurrection of Thy Son, our blessed Saviour, was made holy to us; give me that grace that I may keep it holy to Thee, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

Psal. xliii. 3, 4. O send out Thy light and Thy truth, that they may lead me, and bring me unto Thy holy hill, and to Thy dwelling; that I may go unto the altar of Thee, O my God, even the God of my joy and gladness, and give thanks unto Thee. Amen.

Domin. ii. post Epiph. Almighty and everlasting God, who governest all things both in heaven and earth, mercifully hear my supplications for myself and all Thy people; and grant us Thy peace all the days of our life, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Advent. Dom. i. Almighty God, I humbly beseech Thee, give me grace to cast away the works of darkness, and to put on the armour of light now in the time of this mortal life, in which Thy Son Christ Jesus came to visit us in great humility, that in the last day, when He shall come again in His glorious majesty to judge both the quick and the dead, I with all Thy faithful servants may rise up to the life immortal, through Him who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, now and for ever. Amen.

Domin. ii. Blessed God, which hast caused all holy Scriptures to be written for our learning, grant unto me and all Christians, that we may in such wise hear, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by patience and comfort thereof, we

may embrace and ever hold fast the blessed hope of everlasting life, which Thou hast given us in our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Lord, I humbly beseech Thee, raise up Thy power and come among us, and with great might succour us; that whereas by our sins we are sore let and hindered, Thy bountiful grace and mercy, through the satisfaction of Thy Son our Lord, may speedily deliver us; to Whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen. Dom. iv.

HORA TERTIA,
SIVE NONA MATUTINA.

Lord, let Thine angels tarry round about me, and deliver me; that I may taste and see how gracious Thou my Lord art, and how blessed the man is that trusteth in Thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Ps. xxxiv. 7, 8.

I will wait for Thy loving-kindness, O God, in the midst of Thy temple, and there will I praise Thee. Amen. Ps. xlviii. 9.

Lord, let me behold Thee in Thy sanctuary, and there see Thy power and glory. For Thy loving-kindness is better than life, therefore my lips shall praise Thee. Thus will I magnify Thee all my life, and lift up my hands in Thy Name. O satisfy me with that riches of mercy which is in Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Ps. lxiii. 3.

O how amiable are Thy dwellings, Thou Lord of hosts! My soul hath a desire and a longing to enter into the courts of Thee, O Lord; my heart and my flesh rejoiceth in Thee, O merciful God. Amen. Ps. lxxxiv. 1.

Lord, I humbly beseech Thee to hear and accept my prayers for myself, and for Thy people which call upon Thee; and grant that we may perfectly know what things we ought to do, and also have grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Domin. i. post Epiph.

Almighty and everlasting God, mercifully look upon all my infirmities; and in all dangers and adversities, stretch out Thy right hand to help and defend me, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Domin. iii. post Epiph.

Domin. iv. post Epiph. God, Thou which knowest us to be set in the midst of so many and great dangers, that for man's frailty we cannot always stand upright; grant, I most humbly beseech Thee, to me the health of body and soul, that all those things which I suffer for sin, I may by Thy help well pass and overcome, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

HORA SEXTA,
i. e. MERIDIE.

O Lord, the sun is at height for this day upon me, but lift up the light of Thy countenance, and I shall be whole. Make all darkness and spiritual shadows short upon me, and shorter in me, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Psal. xix. 12, 13. Præsumptio. Who can tell how oft he offendeth? O cleanse Thou me from my secret sins; keep me also, O Lord, from presumptuous sins, lest they get the dominion over me; and keep me innocent from the great offence, I humbly beseech Thee. Amen.

Ps. lxxxiv. 4. Blessed are they that dwell in Thy house, they will be alway praising Thee. Blessed is the man whose strength is in Thee, in whose heart are Thy ways. Lord, thus bless the heart of Thy servant, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

[S. Greg.] Nazianz. Orat. xiii.[a] Charitas. O sancta, adoranda, et longanimis Trinitas! Longanimis enim es, quæ eos, a quibus scinderis, tam diu toleras. O Trinitas, cujus ego ut cultor ac minime fictus præco essem, jam pridem dignus habitus sum; O Trinitas omnibus aliquando vel per illuminationem vel per pœnam agnoscenda! Oro te, ut hos quoque qui nunc contumeliis Te afficiunt, adoratores accipias, ne quisquam vel ex minimis pereat; et hoc, etiamsi mihi propterea aliqua gratiæ jactura facienda sit. Neque enim tantum dicere audeo, quantum Apostolus. Concede autem hoc per et propter merita Jesu Christi Redemptoris nostri. Amen.

Domin. Pasch. Pro Gratia. Almighty God, who through Thine only begotten Son Jesus Christ, hast overcome death, and opened to us the gate of everlasting life; I humbly beseech Thee, that as by Thy special grace preventing me, Thou dost put into my mind

[a] [Op., tom. i. pp. 212. D. 213. A.]

good desires; so by Thy continual help, I may bring the same to good effect, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty God, who hast given Thine only Son to die for our sins, and to rise again for our justification; give me grace so to put away the leaven of malice and all wickedness, that I may always serve Thee in pureness of living and in truth, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Dom. i. post Pascha. Contra Malitiam.

Almighty God, who hast given Thine only Son to be unto us both a sacrifice for sin, and an example of godly life; give me grace that I may always most thankfully receive that inestimable benefit, and also daily endeavour to follow the blessed steps of His most holy life, even for the same Thy Son Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Domin. ii. post Pascha.

Hora Nona,
i. e. Tertia Pomeridiana.

Lord, give me that grace, that I may hold me still by Thee, and abide patiently upon Thee; that I may not grieve myself at the man whose way doth prosper, nor against him that doth after evil counsels; that I may leave off from wrath, and let go displeasure, lest I fret myself and be moved to do evil. Amen. Psal. xxxvii. 7, 8.

Tribuat hic mihi Dominus, ut in me, pro me, fiat ignis consumens; et ardeat hoc igne cor meum in lumen æternum mihi, ne eodem ardeat anima mea in pœnam perennem; per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. Paulinus Epist. ix. Princip.[b]

O Lord, make me like a green olive-tree in Thy house; for I trust in Thy tender mercy for ever; and I will always praise Thee for that Thou hast done, and hope in Thy Name for ever. Amen. Psal. lii. 8.

O Lord, I beseech Thee, make me remember how much more than other men I have need to call upon Thee. My charge is great, and my strength little; O give me grace to come often before Thee, and to ask that help, which Thou art readier to give than I to ask; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Pro Meipso.

[b] [Ep. xxviii. § 1. col. 172. A. ed. Veronæ, 1736.]

Psal. ix. 13. Aug. 14. 1629.[c] Have mercy upon me, O Lord; consider the troubles which I suffer of them that hate me, O Thou which didst lift me up from the gates of death. Amen.

Pro omni Dono. O Lord, increase in me faith and devotion; replenish my heart with all goodness, and by Thy great mercy keep me in the same. Give me godly zeal in prayer, true humility in prosperity, perfect patience in adversity, and continual joy in the Holy Ghost; even for Jesus Christ His sake, my only Lord and Saviour. Amen.

Pentecost. O GOD, who hast taught the hearts of Thy faithful people by sending to them the light of Thy Holy Spirit; grant me by the same Spirit to have a right judgment in all things, and evermore to rejoice in His holy comfort, through the merits of Christ Jesus our Saviour, who liveth and reigneth with Thee, in the unity of the same Spirit, one God, world without end. Amen.

Domin. Trinit. Almighty and everlasting God, who hast given unto Thy servants grace by the confession of true faith[d] to acknowledge the glory of the eternal Trinity, and in the power of the Divine Majesty to worship the Unity; I humbly beseech Thee, bless me also, that I may live in the steadfastness of this faith, and through it be evermore defended from all ghostly and bodily dangers, for Thy mercies' sake, who livest and reignest, one God, world without end. Amen.

VESPERI.

Dan. ix. 19. O my God, incline thine ear and hear, open thine eyes and see. O Lord, forgive; O Lord, consider and do it, for Thine own sake, O my God; and for my Saviour Jesus Christ his sake. Amen.

Psal. xlix. 16, 17. Patientia. Lord, let me not be afraid, though one be made rich, or though the glory of his house be increased; for he shall carry

[c] ["August 14.—*Dies erat Veneris*—I fell sick upon the way towards the Court at Woodstock; I took up my lodgings at my ancient friend's house, Mr. Francis Windebanck; there I lay in a most grievous burning fever till Monday, Sept. 7."—Diary. A.D. 1629.]

[d] ['of the true faith' Ed. 1663.]

nothing away with him when he dieth, neither shall his pomp follow him. But ever make me afraid to offend Thee. Amen.

Mine eyes long sore for Thy word, saying, When wilt Thou comfort me? Lord, comfort me, for I am become like a bottle in the smoke; yet let me not, I beseech Thee, forget Thy law, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Psal. cxix. 82.

O Lord God, which seest that I put not my trust in any thing that I do; mercifully grant that I may be defended against all adversity, through Jesus Christ my Lord and only Saviour. Amen. Domin. Sexagesima. Contra Adversitatem.

O Lord, which hast taught us, that all our doings without charity are nothing worth; send Thy Holy Ghost, and pour into my heart that most excellent gift of charity, the very bond of peace and all virtues, without the which whosoever liveth is counted dead before Thee; grant this for Thy only Son Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Domin. Quinquagesima. Pro Charitate.

COMPLETORIUM.

O Lord, fill me with grace that I may fulfil all the service which I owe Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. The Compline is before bed-time.

O Lord God, spare, I beseech Thee; who shall raise up Jacob? for he is small. Spare him, therefore, O Lord; spare Thy people, spare me. Say unto my soul, Thou hast repented of the evil intended, and it shall not be. Amen. Amos vii. 2, 5.

Lord, when I am asleep let me not be made afraid; but let my sleep be sweet, that I may be enabled to serve Thee. Prov. iii. 24. Somnus.

Grant, I beseech Thee, most merciful Father, that I, who for my evil deeds am worthily punished, may by the comfort of Thy grace be mercifully relieved, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen. Domin. iv. Quadrag. For Relief.

BED-TIME,
ET NOCTE, SI VIGILES.

Consider and hear me, O Lord my God; lighten mine eyes, that I sleep not in death. Amen. Psal. xiii. 3.

Psal. xvii. 3. O Lord, Thou hast proved and visited my heart, in the night season Thou hast tried me. O blessed Father, purge me, that Thou mayest find no wickedness in me; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Psal. cxix. 164. O Lord, hear me, that seven times a day I may praise Thee; and be acquainted with that great peace, which they have that love Thy law. Amen.

Domin. v. post Pascha. Cogitationes. O Lord, from whom all good things do come, grant unto me, Thy humble servant, that by Thy holy inspiration I may think those things that are good, and by Thy merciful guiding may also perform the same, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

MONDAY.

MANE.

PONDER my words, O Lord, consider my meditations. O hearken unto the voice of my calling, my King and my God; for unto Thee will I make my prayer. My voice shalt Thou hear betimes, O Lord: early in the morning will I direct my prayer unto Thee, and will look up. But make me remember, that Thou art God, and hast no pleasure in wickedness, neither shall any evil dwell with Thee. Amen. Psal. v. 1, 2, 3.

O Lord, bless me, and I will sing unto Thee, and praise Thy name, and be telling of Thy salvation from day to day. Amen. Psal. xcvi. 2. Gratiæ.

O Lord, let counsel preserve me, and understanding keep me. Deliver me from the evil way, and from the man that speaketh froward things; and from all such as leave the ways of righteousness to walk in the ways of darkness: even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Prov. ii. 11[–13.] Consilium.

O Lord, I know the way of man is not in himself. It is not in man that walketh to direct his own steps. Therefore, O Lord, I beseech Thee, make me know my way, and direct my steps to Thy honour and my own salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Jerem. x. 23. Viarum Directio.

HORA TERTIA.

Be not wroth with me, O Lord, but spare me, and have mercy upon me, for Thou wilt be merciful unto Thy creature. O Lord, I and my fathers have all had the same sickness; but, because of us that are sinners, Thou shalt be called merciful; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. 2 Esdr. viii. 45, 31. Misericordia.

O Lord, guide me here with Thy counsel, and after that receive me into glory. For whom have I in heaven but Thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire in comparison of Thee. O Lord, preserve me in those longings after Thee. Amen. Psal. lxxiii. 24. Consilium. Sitire Deum.

Psal. cxix. 29. [32.] Veritas. O God, take from me the way of lying, and cause me to make much of Thy law; that I may choose the way of truth, and lay Thy judgments before me: that I may stick unto Thy

Obedientia. testimonies, and run the way of Thy commandments, when Thou hast set my heart at liberty. Amen.

Domin. i. post Trin. pro Gratia. O God, the strength of all them that trust in Thee, mercifully accept my prayers; and because the weakness of man's nature can do no good thing without Thee, grant me the help of Thy grace, that in keeping of Thy commandments I may please Thee both in will and in deed, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

HORA SEXTA.

Tobit iii. 2, 3, 6. O Lord, Thou art just, and all Thy ways are mercy and truth; Thou judgest truly for ever; remember me and

Misericordia. look upon me; punish me not according to my sins, or my ignorances, or my fathers, which have sinned before Thee; deal not with me according to my sins, but as seemeth best unto Thee, O Lord, my strength and my salvation. Amen.

Jerem. xiv. 20. Venia. Lord, I acknowledge my wickedness, and the iniquity of my fathers; we have sinned against Thee, O Lord, be merciful. Amen.

Liturg. Angl. Remember not, Lord, our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers; neither take Thou vengeance of our sins; spare us, good Lord, spare Thy people whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy most precious blood, and be not angry with us for ever. Amen.

Domin. iii. post Trinit. Pro Defensione. Lord, I beseech Thee mercifully to hear me; and as Thou hast given me an hearty desire to pray, so grant that by Thy mighty aid I may be defended both in soul and in body, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[S.] Aug. Serm. xviii. de Sanctis.[a] O Domine, accipe, quæso, quas offero preces, dona quod rogo, excusa quod timeo; quia Tu per Christum Tuum es unica spes peccatorum, et per Eum spero veniam delictorum. Amen.

[a] [This is a spurious Sermon, and placed by the Bened. Edit. in the Appendix. (Serm. cxciv. Op., tom. v. col. 2846. A.) The prayer is, in the

HORA NONA.

O Lord, be gracious unto me, and give me an heart to worship Thee, and to do Thy will; and open my heart in Thy law, and send me peace; hear my prayers, and be reconciled to me, and never forsake me in the time of trouble, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. 2 Macc. i. 3, 4, 5. Misericordia.

Remember me, O Lord, according to the favour that Thou bearest unto Thy people. O visit me with Thy salvation, that I may see the felicity of Thy chosen, and rejoice in the gladness of Thy people, and give thanks with Thine inheritance. Amen. Psal. cvi. 4. Remember me.

O God, the Protector of all that trust in Thee, without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy; increase and multiply upon me Thy mercy, that Thou being my ruler and guide, I may so pass through things temporal, that I finally lose not the things eternal. Grant this, O heavenly Father, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Dom. iv. post Trin.

Grant, O Lord, that I may live in Thy fear, die in Thy favour, rest in Thy peace, rise in Thy power, reign in Thy glory; for Thy only beloved Son's sake, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

VESPERI.

Hear, O Lord, consider my complaint, hearken unto my prayer, that goeth not out of feigned lips; and prevent me in mercy, before the evening of my days close up upon me; even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Psal. xvii. 1. Exaudire.

O Domine! oro Te, ultra se infirmitas mea non tendat, sed loquatur hoc solum, in quo animæ salus est. Neque in id stultitiæ simul et impietatis unquam erumpam, ut omnipotentiæ Tuæ et Sacramentorum arbiter esse velim. Neque permittas me erigere infirmitatis meæ sensum ultra aut infinitatis Tuæ religiosam opinionem, aut significatam mihi æternitatis Tuæ fidem. Amen. S. Hilar. l[ib.] xii. de Trin. p. 195[b]. Præsumptio.

original, addressed to the Blessed Virgin, and as such is read in the Roman Breviary, as the fourth Lesson in the second Nocturn, on Sept. ix., being the day after the Feast of her Nativity.]

[b] [Op., coll. 1139. F. 1140. A.B. Paris. 1693.]

Coll. Vesp. pro Auxilio contra omnia Pericula. Nox.

Illumina, quæso, Domine, tenebras nostras, et totius noctis hujus insidias a me et omnibus fidelibus Tuis, ab animabus præcipue, sed et a corporibus nostris repelle propitius, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Dom. vi. post Trin.

Obedientia.

O God, which hast prepared for them that love Thee, such good things as pass man's understanding; pour into my heart such love towards Thee, that I obeying Thee in all things, may obtain Thy promises, which exceed all that I can desire, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE COMPLINE.

Psal. xvii. 6—8.

Defensio.

Incline Thine ear unto me, O Lord, and hearken unto my words. Shew Thy marvellous loving-kindness, Thou that art the Saviour of them that put their trust in Thee. Keep me as the apple of Thine eye, and hide me under the shadow of Thy wings, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Psal. cxli. 2. Exaudire.

O Lord, I cry unto Thee, let my prayer be set forth in Thy sight as incense, and the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Psal. xxviii. 8. Gratiæ.

The Lord is my strength and my shield, my heart hath trusted in Him, and I am helped: therefore my heart danceth for joy, and in my song will I praise Him. Amen.

Dom. vii. post Trin.

Religio.

O Lord of all power and might, who art the author and giver of all good things, graft in my heart the love of Thy name, increase in me true religion, nourish me with all goodness, and of Thy great mercy keep me in the same, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

BED-TIME,
ET NOCTE, SI VIGILES.

Psal. xxxix. 5, &c. Mors.

Lord, let me know my end, and the number of my days, that I may be certified how long I have to live. Behold, Thou hast made my days as it were a span long, and my age is even as nothing in respect of Thee; and verily every man living is altogether vanity. For man walketh in a vain shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain: he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. And now,

Lord, what is my hope? Truly, my hope is even in Thee. Deliver me from all mine offences, and make me not a rebuke to the foolish, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

O Domine! Mea omnia et meipsum Tibi dono et offero, actionem et sermonem, quietem et silentium. Tantum me habeas, et ducas; et manum et mentem et linguam, ad ea quæ honesta sunt et Tibi grata, moveas; et ab omnibus, a quibus abstinere præstat, abducas. Per, et propter, Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

[S.] Gregor. Nazian. Orat. 8.[c] Submissio meiipsius.

[c] [Op., tom. i. p. 145. D.]

TUESDAY.

MANE.

Psal. i. 1, 2. Præservatio. LORD, preserve me, that neither this day, nor any day of my life, I may walk in the counsel of the ungodly, stand in the way of sinners, or sit down in the seat of the scornful; but that my delight may be in Thy law, O Lord, and my exercise in it day and night. Amen.

Erasmus.[a] Illuminatio. O Sol justitiæ, Pater et Origo omnium, Tuo sidere afflari reviviscere est, Tuo foveri lumine proficere est, Tuis accendi flammis perfici est, abs Te deseri perire est. O ter felices, quibus mitis et roscidus exoreris. Bees me, O Domine Jesu, lumine Tuo, et discute nebulas ignorantiæ meæ, et caliginem peccatorum meorum: ut non aberrans a via mandatorum Tuorum, Te sequar in lumen æternum, per Teipsum unicum Salvatorem et Redemptorem meum. Amen.

Prov. iii. 26. O Lord, Thou art my assurance; I humbly beseech Thee preserve my foot from taking, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Dom. ix. post Trin. Cogitationes. Gratia. O Lord, give me, I beseech Thee, the spirit to think and do always such things as be rightful; that I who cannot be without Thee, may by Thee be able to live according to Thy will, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

HORA TERTIA.

Ps. xxv. 1. 3, 4, &c. Pro omnis Generis Auxilio. O Lord, I lift up my soul to Thee; my God, I have put my trust in Thee; O let me not be confounded, neither let mine enemies triumph over me. Shew me Thy ways, O God, and teach me Thy paths. Lead me forth in Thy truth, and learn me, for Thou art the God of my salvation; in Thee is my hope all the day long. Call to remembrance, O Lord, Thy tender mercies and Thy loving-kindness, which hath

[a] [Vid. Precat. ad Virginis Filium J. C. Op., tom. v. col. 1210. F. 1211. B.]

been ever of old. O remember not the sins and offences of my youth, or my riper age; but according to Thy mercy think Thou upon me, O Lord, for Thy goodness, and the merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour. Amen.

Almighty God, who seest that we have no power of ourselves to help ourselves, keep me, I beseech Thee, both outwardly in my body, and inwardly in my soul, that so I may be defended from all adversity which may happen to my body, and from all evil thoughts which may assault and hurt my soul, through Jesus Christ my Lord and only Saviour. Amen. Domin. ii. Quadrages. Pro Præservatione.

Hora Sexta.

Hearken unto my voice, O Lord, now I cry unto Thee: have mercy upon me, and hear me. My heart hath talked of Thee. Seek ye My face; Thy face, Lord, will I seek. O hide not Thou Thy face from me, nor cast Thy servant away in displeasure. Thou hast been my succour, leave me not, neither forsake me, O God of my salvation. Amen. Ps. xxvii. 8—11. Exaudire.

At evening, morning, and at noonday will I pray, and that instantly: Lord, hear my voice. O deliver my soul in peace from the practices that are against me. Amen. Ps. lv. 18. Paulin. Epist. 17. p. 181[b]. Deliverance.

Let Thy merciful ears, O Lord, be open to the prayers of me Thy humble servant; and that I may obtain my petitions, make me to ask such things as shall please Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Dom. x. post Trin.

Hora Nona.

Lord, let me not be confounded, for I have called upon Thee. O how plentiful is Thy goodness, which Thou hast laid up for them that fear Thee, and that Thou hast prepared for them that put their trust in Thee, even before the sons of men! Lord, I trust in Thee, have mercy upon me. Ps. xxxi. 19. 21. Gloria Deo.

[b] ["Eructabunt labia nostra hymnum vespere, mane et meridie."—Paulin. Epist. xix. § 1. Op., col. 104. D.]

Ps. xlii. 3. Tempore adverso.

My tears have been my meat day and night, while they daily say unto me, Where is now thy God? But let them have no cause to say it any more, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Dom. iii. post Pasc. Illuminatio.

Almighty God, which showest to all men that are in error the light of Thy truth, to the intent that they may return into the way of righteousness, grant, I beseech Thee, unto me and all them that are admitted into the fellowship of Christ's religion, that we may eschew those things which are contrary to our profession, and follow all such things as are agreeable to the same, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Obedientia.

VESPERI.

S. Ambros. Ser. viii. in Ps. cxviii.[c]

O Domine Salvator, qui habes in potestate peccatum solvere, dicas mihi, oro, Exi de vinculis tuis, exi de nexibus peccatorum tuorum, et dicendo solve funes errorum meorum quibus circumdatus et ligatus sum. Etsi enim nequissimus sim omnium et detestabilis usu peccatorum, Te tamen jubente liber ero. Amen.

Venia.

Ps. xci. 1. Auxilium.

Lord, give me grace that I may dwell under the defence of the Most Highest, and that I may abide under Thy shadow, O Thou Almighty: for Thou art my hope and my stronghold, in Thee will I trust, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Dom. xi. post Trinitatem.

O God, Thou which declarest Thy Almighty power most chiefly by showing mercy and pity, give unto me abundantly Thy grace, that I running to Thy promises, may be made partaker of Thy heavenly treasure, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

COMPLETORIUM.

Ps. xlvi. 1. Auxilium.

O God, Thou art my hope and strength, a very present help in trouble. Confirm me, that I may not fear, though the earth be moved, and the hills carried into the midst of the sea; though the waters thereof rage and swell, and the

[c] [§ 40. Op., tom. i. coll. 1070. F. 1071. A.]

mountains shake at the tempest of the same. O be in the midst of my soul, and I shall never be moved. Amen.

O Lord, look upon me, and be merciful unto me, as Thou usest to do to those that fear Thy name. Order my steps in Thy word, and so shall no wickedness have dominion over me. Amen. Ps. cxix. 132, [133.] Misericordia.

Almighty God, give unto me, I beseech Thee, a full increase of faith, hope, and charity; and that I may obtain that which Thou dost promise, make me love that which Thou dost command, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Dom. xiv. post Trin. Donum omne.

BED-TIME,
ET NOCTE, SI VIGILES.

Lord, I call upon Thee in the day of my trouble, in the night of my heaviness. O deliver me, and I will glorify Thee. Amen. Ps. l. 15.

O Lord, correct me, but with judgment; not in Thy anger, lest Thou bring me to nothing. And grant that Thy correction may amend me, and make me Thine, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Jer. x. 24.

Respice me quoque, O Domine Jesu! ut propria possim recognoscere peccata, et fletibus piis culpas solvere. Da, quæso, lacrymas Petri: nolo lætitiam peccatoris. Utque hoc fiat, respice Tu, et des ut mihi etiam miserrimo peccatorum aliquis gallus cantet; ut liberatus Tibi cantem in sæcula sæculorum. Amen. [Vid.] S. Ambr. [lib.] v. Hexam. cap. xxv.[a] Pœnitentia.

O eternal God and merciful Father, grant, I humbly beseech Thee, that I may love all those things which Thou commandest, and desire that which Thou dost promise; that among the sundry and manifold changes of the world, my heart may surely there be fixed, where true joys are to be found; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Dom. iv. post Pasc. Obedientia.

[a] [§§ 89, 90. Op., tom. i. coll. 112. F. 113. A.]

WEDNESDAY.

MANE.

Baruch ii. 12. 14. Pœnitentia. O LORD, I have sinned, and dealt wickedly, nay, offended Thee in all Thine ordinances. Let Thy wrath turn from me, for I am weak; and hear my prayers, and deliver me for Thine own sake, and the merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Gracious Father, without Thee I can do nothing but sin; nor can I confess it, to have pardon, but by Thee[a]. I was conceived and born in sin: and though Thou didst wash me from that in the laver of Baptism, yet I have since defiled myself again, and by many grievous actual sins have made myself a sinner above all other men, considering the great measure of grace that Thou hast given me. Lord, increase Thy grace, and by it weaken first, and then cut off my resistance, that I may see, and confess, and hate, and forsake all my sins, and find mercy and salvation in the merits of my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Ps. cxix. 147. Exaudire. O Lord, early this morning do I cry unto Thee, for in Thy word is my trust. Hear me, O Lord, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Ps. cxliii. 8. O Lord, let me hear Thy loving-kindness betimes in the morning, for in Thee is my trust. O shew me the way that I should walk in this day, and all the days of my life; for I lift up my soul unto Thee in the mercies of Jesus Christ. Amen.

HORA TERTIA.

Ps. xxxix. 9. 7, 8. Deliver me, O Lord, from all mine offences, and make me not a rebuke to the foolish. For man walketh in a vain shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain. But, Lord, what is

Spes. my hope? truly, my hope is even in Thee. And there let it still continue acceptable in Jesus Christ, our Lord and only Saviour. Amen.

[a] [The punctuation of this clause taken from Edit. 1663.]

O Lord, look upon me in mercy; in the greater mercy, because the calling and place I am in must give a stricter account to Thee. Look therefore upon me, O Lord, but not till Thou hast nailed my sins to the Cross of Christ; not till Thou hast bathed me in the Blood of Christ; not till I have hid myself in the Wounds of Christ; that so the punishment, which should else overtake me, may pass over me: then look, and say unto my soul, I have forgiven thee; and by the work of Thy mercy in my soul make me feel it, through Jesus Christ, our only Lord and Saviour. Amen. Pœnitentia.

O Domine, qui magnos greges perficis, et parvos per gratiam auges, pro amplissima benignitate Tua copiose me consolare, et gregem meum mecum et pasce et conserva: per Jesum Christum summum Pastorem, et Salvatorem nostrum. Amen. [S.] Gr. Naz. Orat. 6. fine. pag. 144[b]. Pro Grege.

Hora Sexta.

O Lord, plead Thou my cause with them that strive with me, and fight against them that fight against me. Bring forth the spear, and stop the way against them that persecute me. Say unto my soul, I am thy salvation. Even so. Amen. Ps. xxxv. 1. 3. Defensio.

Give ear, O Lord, unto my prayer, and ponder the voice of my humble desires. In the time of my trouble I will call upon Thee, for Thou hearest me. Amen. Ps. lxxxvi. 6. Exaudire.

Deliver my soul, O God, from lying lips, and from a deceitful tongue. Amen. Ps. cxx. 2. Deliverance.

Keep me, O Lord, Thy poor humble servant, with Thy perpetual mercy; and because the frailty of man without Thee cannot but fall, preserve me ever by Thy help, and lead me to all things profitable to my salvation; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Dom. xv. post Trin.

Hora Nona.

O Lord, give me such grace as I may seek Thee while Thou mayest be found, and call upon Thee while Thou art near; that I may detest and forsake the wickedness of my Esai. lv. 6, 7. Pœnitentia.

[b] [Op., tom. i, p. 141. C.]

ways, and the unrighteousness of my own imaginations; that I may return unto Thee, and Thou have mercy upon me, in Jesus Christ my only Saviour and Redeemer. Amen.

Ps. lxxxvi. 11. Timor Dei. Teach me Thy ways, O Lord, and I will walk in Thy truth. O knit my heart unto Thee, that I may fear Thy name. Amen.

Dom. xvii. post Trin. Pro Gratia. Lord, I beseech Thee, grant that Thy grace may alway prevent and follow me, and make me continually to be given to all good works, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

VESPERI.

Ps. li. 1, [2, 3.] Pœnitentia. Have mercy upon me, O God, after Thy great goodness, and according to the multitude of Thy mercies do away mine offences. Wash me throughly from my wickedness, and cleanse me from my sin: for I acknowledge my faults, and my sin is ever before me. But let not this evening take from me the light of the Sun of Righteousness, Jesus Christ my Saviour. Amen.

S. Aug. Ser. xxx. de Verb. Dom., et Ser. cxx. de Diversis, et Ser. ii.[c] Donum omne. O Domine, exaudire dignare preces meas in beneplacito Tuo. Inimicum ab actibus meis et cogitationibus virtute Tua expelle. Multiplica mihi fidem, guberna mentem, spirituales cogitationes concede (super stratum vigilanti,) et ad beatitudinem Tuam perducito, per Jesum Christum Filium Tuum, et Salvatorem nostrum. Amen.

Dom. xviii. post Trin. Obedientia. Lord, I beseech Thee, give me grace to avoid the infections of the Devil, and with a pure heart and mind to follow Thee, the only true God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

COMPLINE.

Ps. li. 17. Pœnitentia. Lord, I offer up unto Thee my evening sacrifice; Thy sacrifice, even a troubled spirit, a broken and a contrite heart, which Thou wilt not despise, in Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O Domine, supplex Te oro, respice me, et purga mentem meam et cogitationes meas ab impuris concupiscentiis, et ab

[c] [See the prayer "Conversi ad Dominum," printed in full at the end of this last Sermon (Op., tom. v. col. 250. D.), and referred to in the other places.]

omni inquinamento carnis et spiritus, et ab omni diabolica operatione, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

O Domine, ineffabilem misericordiam Tuam clementer ostende, et simul exue me a peccatis quæ commisi, et eripe me a pœnis quas merui, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. Misericordia.

O God, forasmuch as without Thee I am not able to please Thee, grant that the working of Thy mercy may in all things direct and rule my heart, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Dom. xix. post Trin.

BED-TIME,
ET NOCTE, SI VIGILES.

O Lord, give me that grace that I may remember Thee upon my bed, and think upon Thee when I am waking. Thou hast been my helper; therefore under the shadow of Thy wings I will hope to pass through the darkness of this night, in the comfort of Jesus Christ, my Lord and only Saviour. Amen. Ps. lxiii. 6, [7, 8.] Nox.

O Lord, make mine eyes prevent the night watches, that I may be occupied in Thy words. Amen. Ps. cxix. 148.

O Lord, Thou which hast made the night for man to rest in, as well as the day to labour, grant, dear Father, that I may so take my bodily rest, that my soul may continually watch for my deliverance out of this mortal life; and that my sleep be not excessive, according to the insatiable desires of the flesh, but sufficient to relieve and maintain nature; to live and serve Thee in all sober and godly conversation, through the aid and assistance of Jesus Christ, my only Lord and Saviour. Amen. Somnus.

THURSDAY.

MANE.

Ps. xvii. 5. O HOLD Thou up my goings in Thy paths, that my footsteps slip not. Amen.

S. Aug. de V. Hæres. cap. vii.* Auxilium. Subveni, Domine mi Jesu, et accingere gladium Tuum circa femur, potentissime. Omnium potentissime, egredere: occidé me in me, ut vivam in Te, et desinant inimici persequi me. Amen.

Ps. lxiii. 1. Consolatio. O God, Thou art my God, early will I seek Thee. My soul thirsteth for Thee, my flesh longeth greatly after Thee, in a barren and dry land, where no water is. O satisfy this thirst with Thy freshest waters of comfort, in Jesu Christ our Lord. Amen.

Esai. xxxiii. 2. 5, 6. O Lord, have mercy upon me; I have waited for Thee: be Thou my arm in the morning, and my help in the time of trouble; that I may exalt Thy name, which dwellest on high, that I may live in the stability of Thy times, and that Thy fear may be my treasure, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Ascensionis Dies. O Almighty God and merciful Father, grant, I beseech Thee, that as I do believe Thy only Son our Lord to have ascended into the heavens; so I, and all Thy faithful servants, may in heart and mind thither ascend, and with Thee continually dwell. Amen.

Dom. post Ascen. O God, the King of Glory, who hast exalted Thine only Son Jesus Christ with great triumph into Thy kingdom in heaven, I beseech Thee leave neither Thy Church nor my poor self comfortless; but send us Thy Holy Ghost to comfort us, and exalt us unto the same place whither our Saviour Christ is gone before, who liveth and reigneth with Thee, one God, world without end. Amen.

* [Op., tom. viii. Append. col. 1546. A. B.]

Hora Tertia.

Hear my prayer, O God, and hide not Thyself from my petition. Take heed unto me, and hear me, how I mourn in my prayer, and am vexed. Give me strength and comfort in Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Ps. lv. 2. Exaudire.

O God, the proud are risen against me, and the congregation of factious men have sought after my soul, and have not set Thee before their eyes. But Thou, Lord God, art full of compassion and mercy, long-suffering, plenteous in goodness and truth. O turn Thee then unto me, and have mercy upon me: shew some token upon me for good, that they which hate me may see it, and be ashamed, because Thou, Lord, hast holpen me, and comforted me, in Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Ps. lxxxvi. 14. [17.] Inimici.

Assist me mercifully, O Lord, in these, and all other my supplications and prayers, and dispose my ways towards the attainment of everlasting salvation; that among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, I may ever be defended by Thy most gracious and ready help, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Liturg. Angl. Defensio.

Hora Sexta.

O deliver me from them whose words are softer than butter, when they have war in their heart; and from them whose words are smoother than oil, while they are very swords. Lord, I cast my burthen upon Thee, that Thou mayest sustain me, and not suffer me to fall for ever. Amen. Ps. lv. [21,] 22. Blandientes.

Bless me, O Lord, when Thou chastenest me, and teachest me in Thy law; that Thou mayest give me patience in time of adversity, till the pit be digged up for the ungodly. O Lord, fail me not, neither forsake me, for I am part in Thine inheritance in Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Ps. xciv. 12. Correctio.

Almighty and merciful God, of Thy bountiful goodness keep me from all things that may hurt me; that I being ready both in body and soul, may with a free heart accomplish those things that Thou wouldest have done, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Dom. xx. post Trin. Defensio. Obedientia.

HORA NONA.

Patientia. S. Aug. cont. Epist. Fundam. cap. xxxvii.[b]

O æterne Deus, quamdiu hic in terris sum, supplex oro, in quantum terrena mihi serviunt, doceant me esse Dominum suum, sed a Te constitutum. In quantum molesta sunt, doceant me servire Tibi Domino meo, cui dum non obtempero, illa in justam vindictam molesta esse solent. Ut sive illa mihi serviant, sive non, ego semper serviam Tibi, in et per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Ps. cix. 1 [—4.] Opprobrium.

Hold not Thy tongue, O God of my praise; for the mouth of the ungodly, yea, and the mouth of the deceitful, is opened upon me. And they have spoken against me with false tongues, they compassed me about also with words of hatred, and fought against me without a cause. But I give myself unto prayer; Lord, forgive them, and hear me. Amen.

Prec. Mat. Coll. pro Pace. Et pro Defensione.

O God, which art the Author of peace and lover of concord, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, whose service is perfect freedom; defend me, and all Thy servants, in all assaults of our enemies, that we, surely trusting in Thy defence, may not fear the power of any adversaries, through the might of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

VESPERI.

[S.]Aug. de V. Hæres. cap. vii.[c]

Dic, O Domine mi Jesu, doce, discam a Te, quod doceam de Te. Amen.

Ps. cxl. 1, 2[—4.] Inimici.

Deliver me, O Lord, from the man that is evil, and preserve me from the cruel man, which imagines mischief in his heart, and stirs up strife all the day long. The proud have laid a snare for me, and spread their net abroad with cords, and set traps in my way. Lord, keep me from treacherous hands, and preserve me, that though they purpose, yet they may not be able to overthrow my goings, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Coll. 1. Precum Vespert. Pro Pace.

O God, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed, give unto me, and all Thy servants, that peace which the world cannot give; that both our hearts may be set to obey Thy commandments, and also that by Thee we being defended from the fear of our enemies, may

[b] [Op., tom. viii. col. 302. C.] [c] [Op., tom. viii. App. col. 1545. B.]

pass our time in rest and quietness, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

COMPLINE.

Have mercy upon me, O God, have mercy upon me, for my soul trusteth in Thee, and in the shadow of Thy wings will I trust, till these and all other my afflictions be overpast. O send out Thy mercy and truth upon me, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Ps. lvii. 1. Spes.

O Domine misericors, qui ad cor altum non accedis, humilia animam meam. O Tu, qui non videris nisi a mundis cordibus, veram cordis munditiem dato mihi. Sitio, O Domine, da arrham hæreditatis futuræ, saltem da guttam cœlestis pluviæ, qua refrigerare possim sitim meam, quia amore ardeo. Nec hoc peto, Domine, propter merita mea, indignissimus enim sum qui gustem; sed pro misericordia Tua, et meritis Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi. Amen. S. Aug. Nom. Scala Paradisi, cap. 4.[d] Sitire Deum.

Almighty God, vouchsafe, I beseech Thee, to direct, sanctify, and govern both my heart and body in the ways of Thy laws, and in the works of Thy commandments, that through Thy mighty protection, both here and ever, I may be preserved by night and by day, in body and in soul, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen. Liturg. Angl. Præservatio.

BED-TIME,
ET NOCTE, SI VIGILES.

O Lord, I cry unto Thee, hearken unto me, O God. Thou holdest my eyes waking: I am so feeble that I cannot speak: and in the night season my soul refuseth comfort; yet even then give me grace especially that I may commune with mine own heart, and search out my spirits, and compose them in Thee, that I may rise to serve Thee. Amen. Ps. lxxvii. 1, 2. Tempore valde premente.

Da mihi, Domine, dormitum abeunti requiem corporis et animæ. Custodi me a caliginoso peccati somno, ab omni tenebrosa et nocturna mollitie. Ignita maligni tela dolose in me vibrata extinguito. Rebelliones carnis meæ reprimito. Et omnem terrenam et mundanam in me cogitationem sopito, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. Somnus.

[d] [Op., tom. vi. App. col. 1455. A—C.]

Coll. in fine Lit. Anglic.

I humbly beseech Thee, O Father, mercifully to look upon my infirmities, and for the glory of Thy name's sake, turn from me and the rest of Thy servants, all those evils which

Defensio.

we most justly have deserved: and grant that in all our troubles we may put our whole trust and confidence in Thy mercy, and evermore serve Thee in holiness and pureness of living, to Thy honour and glory, through our only Mediator and Advocate, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

FRIDAY.

MANE.

DEUS magne, Deus omnipotens, Deus summæ bonitatis, quem inviolabilem et incorruptibilem credi et intelligi fas est; Trina Unitas, quam Catholica Ecclesia colit, supplex oro, expertus in meipso misericordiam Tuam, ne homines, cum quibus mihi a pueritia in omni victu fuit summa consensio, in Tuo cultu a me dissentire permittas: nec vel me vel illos a veritate et salute, quæ est in Christo Jesu. Amen. S. Aug. lib. i. Ret. cap. 15[a]. et de Duab. Anim. cont. Manich. cap. xv.[b]

O Lord, I will call upon Thee, and early shall my prayer come before Thee. Lord, do not abhor my soul, neither hide Thy face from me, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Ps. lxxxviii. 13.

Lord, make me to have a perpetual fear and love of Thy holy name; for Thou never failest to help and govern them whom Thou dost bring up in Thy steadfast love. Grant this even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Dom. ii. post Trin. Timere, Amare Deum.

Almighty and everlasting God, which of Thy tender love towards man hast sent our Saviour Jesus Christ, to take upon Him our flesh, and to suffer death upon the cross, that all mankind should follow the example of His great humility; mercifully grant that I may both follow the example of His patience, and be made partaker of His resurrection, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Parasceue. Domin. ante Pasc.

Almighty God, I humbly beseech Thee graciously to behold Thy family, for the which our Lord Jesus Christ was content to be betrayed, and given up into the hands of wicked men, and to suffer death upon the cross, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen. Coll. 1. diei. Ecclesia.

Almighty and everlasting God, by whose Spirit the whole body of the church is governed and sanctified, receive these Coll. 2. diei.

[a] [Op., tom. i. col. 59. A. B.]

[b] [Op., tom. viii. col. 162. C.]

Pro omnibus. my supplications and prayers which I offer up before Thee, for all estates of men in Thy holy church, that every member of the same, in his vocation, may truly and devoutly serve Thee, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

HORA TERTIA.

S. Aug. de 5. Hæres. cap. vii.[c] Hæreses. Diu est, O Domine, ex quo contra hæreses laboravi, et sum pœne fatigatus. Veni, Domine mi Jesu, præliator fortissime, princeps exercitus Domini, qui diabolum vicisti et sæculum. Apprehende arma et scutum, et exurge in adjutorium mihi. Amen.

Ps. cix. 20. Deliverance. Deal with me, O God, according to Thy name, for sweet is Thy mercy. O deliver me, for I am helpless and poor, and my heart is wounded within me. Lord, save my soul. Amen.

Ps. xxv. 14. Mine eyes are ever looking unto Thee, O Lord; O pluck my feet out of the net. Amen.

Liturg. Angl. Exaudire. Almighty God, who hast promised to hear the petitions of them that ask in Thy Son's name, I beseech Thee mercifully to incline Thine ears to me, now that in His name I make my prayers and supplications unto Thee; and grant that those things which I have faithfully asked according to Thy will, may effectually be obtained, to the relief of my necessity, and to the setting forth of Thy glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

HORA SEXTA.

Ps. lxxix. 8. Venia. O remember not my old sins, but have mercy upon me, and that soon, for I am come to great misery. Help me, O God of my salvation; O deliver me, and be merciful unto my sins, for Thy name's sake. Amen.

Ps. cxv. 1. Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name give the praise; and that for Thy loving mercy and for Thy truth's sake. Amen.

S. Athan. lib. i. de Unita. O Tu unus Deus Pater, et Fili, et Sancte Spiritus, qui unitam Deitatem nobis declarasti, et sacrosanctæ solius Divini-

[c] [Op., tom. viii. App. col. 1543. A. B.]

tatis indivisam gloriam revelasti, et perfectam Trinitatis Tuæ sempiternitatem demonstrasti; Da mihi, obsecro, fidem et obedientiam in hac vita, et gloriam in futura, per et propter Redemptorem nostrum Jesum Christum. Amen. Deitate Trinitatis, p. 444[d]. Dom. Trinit.

HORA NONA.

O Lord God of Hosts, how long wilt Thou be angry with Thy poor servant that prayeth? O turn me again, O God; shew the light of Thy countenance, and I shall be whole. Amen. Ps. lxxx. 4.

Tibi gloria, Tibi gloria, Domine! Quanta apud Te clementiæ abyssus? quanta patientiæ copia? En, qui nominis Tui prætextu ex ignobilibus et obscuris clari et illustres effecti sunt, honore abutuntur, et contra Te, qui honorem largitus es; audentque non audenda in sacrosancta mysteria Tua injurii. Probos quantum possunt extrudunt, ut homines perditis moribus prædíti summa cum quiete et licentia conturbent omnia. O Domine, exurge, adjuva Ecclesiam Tuam, et ne sinas animam meam in eorum consilium descendere, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. S. Chrysost. lib. iii. de Sacerdotio[e]. Ecclesia.

VESPERI.

O Lord, I will cry day and night before Thee, let my prayer enter into Thy presence, incline Thine ear unto my calling; for my soul is full of trouble, and my life draws nigh unto the pit. O let not Thine indignation lie too hard upon me, neither vex me with all Thy storms: but remember of what mould Thou hast made me, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Ps. lxxxviii. 1, 2. Afflictiones.

O Domine, ne sit mihi inutilis pugna verborum, sed incunctantis fidei constans professio. Conserva, oro, in me fidei incontaminatam religionem. Et, usque ad excessum spiritus mei, hanc conscientiæ meæ vocem dona mihi: ut, quod in regenerationis meæ symbolo baptizatus in Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto professus sim, semper obtineam. Ut S. Hilar. lib. xii. de Trin. fine. Fides[f].

[d] [Opus spurium apud S. Athan. Op., tom. ii. p. 604. Paris. 1698.]

[e] [§ 15. Op., tom. i. p. 394. D.]

[f] [§§ 56, 57. col. 1144. A. B.]

Te habeam Patrem; ut una Tecum Filium Tuum adorem, et Spiritum Sanctum Tuum promerear, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

COMPLINE.

Ps. xcii. 1, 2. Misericordia.

O Lord, be merciful unto me, and I will sing praises unto Thy name; yea, I will tell of Thy loving-kindness early in the morning, and of Thy truth in the night season. O bless me, and fulfil all Thy works of grace in me, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Nox.

Dona mihi, Domine, mentem vigilem, cogitationem sobriam, cor castum, somnum placidum, et ab omni diabolica imaginatione liberum. Et deinde excita me, Domine, hora orationis, ut præceptis Tuis firmiter adhæream, et memoriam retineam inviolatam judiciorum Tuorum. Amen[g].

BED-TIME,
ET NOCTE, SI VIGILES.

Psal. cxix. 49, 54.

Lord, remember Thy promise unto Thy servant, wherein Thou hast caused me to put my trust; that Thy statutes may be my songs in the house of my pilgrimage; and that I may remember Thy name in the night season. Amen.

In manus Tuas, Domine, commendo animam et corpus meum: creasti enim et redemisti ea, Domine Deus veritatis. Commendo autem mecum et mea omnia, Tu enim mihi gratiose largitus es illa pro beneplacito Tuo. In pace ergo me simul cubare et dormire facias, O Domine, qui solus me habitare facis secure, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen[h].

[S.] Gr. Naz. Orat. x. [Op., tom. i.] p. 176. [A.—C.]

O omnium Domine et effector, O Deus Tuorum Pater et Gubernator, O vitæ et mortis Arbiter, O animarum Custos et Benefactor; O qui omnia facis, et tempestive, atque, ut Ipse pro sapientiæ Tuæ et administrationis altitudine nosti, artifice sermone transmutas! me opportuno tempore Tuo suscipe, tamdiu in carne vitam meam moderatus, quamdiu conducibile

Mors.

[g] [Conf. Lanc. Andrewes, Prec. Priv. p. 230. Oxon. 1852.]

[h] [Conf. ibid. p. 234.]

fuerit mihiipsi et Ecclesiæ. Et suscipe, quæso, ob metum Tuum paratum, non turbatum, nec in extremo die terga vertentem, nec invito animo tanquam abstractum aut avulsum a mundo, sed ut prompte et alacriter ad beatam illam et æternam vitam proficiscentem, quæ est in Christo Jesu Domino nostro, cui gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

O Domine Deus meus, voca me, ut accedam ad Te: firma me, ne recedam a Te, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. (S.) Aug. Ser. iiii. de Diversis[1].

[1] [Al. Serm. ccxxv. Op., tom. v. col. 1415. D.]

SATURDAY.

MANE.

Ps. lix. 16. Laus Dei. O LORD, I will sing of Thy power, and will praise Thy mercy in the morning, for Thou hast been my defence and my refuge in the day of my trouble. Unto Thee, O my strength, will I sing; for Thou, O God, art my defence, and my merciful God. Amen.

Ps. xc. 17. Benedictio. The glorious majesty of Thee, O Lord my God, be upon me; prosper Thou the work of my hands upon me, O prosper Thou my handy-work. Amen.

Ps. cxix. 18, [19. 24.] Illuminatio. O Lord, open mine eyes that I may see the wonders of Thy law. I am a stranger upon earth, O hide not Thy commandments from me: for Thy testimonies are my delight and my counsellors. Lord, continue that favour to me, that so they may ever be. Amen.

Prec. Mat. Coll. pro Gratia. Auxilium. O Lord, our heavenly Father, Almighty and everlasting God, who hast safely brought me to the beginning of this day, defend me in the same with Thy mighty power, and grant that this day I fall into no sin, nor run into any kind of danger; but that all my doings may be ordered by Thy governance, to do always that which is righteous in Thy sight, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

HORA TERTIA.

Ps. lxii. [2.] 5. O my soul, wait thou still upon my God, for my hope is in Him: He is my strength and my salvation, He is my defence, so that I shall not fall. So Amen, Lord Jesu, Amen.

Oratio Ezekiæ. 2 Chron. xxx. 19. Imperfectio. O Lord God, be merciful unto every one that prepares his whole heart to seek Thee, O Lord God, the God of his fathers, though he be not according to the purification of the sanctuary. Amen.

Psal. cxxxviii. 7. Inimici. O Lord, I walk in the midst of trouble; I beseech Thee, refresh me. Stretch forth Thy hand upon the fury and the

cunning of mine ençmies, that Thy right hand may save me. O make good Thy loving-kindness towards me, and despise not, I beseech Thee, the work of Thine own hands. Amen.

I deal with the thing that is lawful and right; O give me not over unto mine oppressors. Amen. Ps. cxix. 121. Inimici.

O make me, Thy poor servant, still to delight in that which is good, that the proud do me no wrong, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Ver. 122.

Almighty God, the fountain of all wisdom, who knowest our necessities before we ask, and our ignorance in asking, I beseech Thee to have compassion upon my infirmities; and those things which for my unworthiness I dare not, and for my blindness I cannot ask, vouchsafe to give me, for the worthiness of Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Liturg. Angl. Infirmitas.

Hora Sexta.

O Lord, I will put my trust in Thee always: O let Thy people do it with me, and I will pour out my heart before Thee, O God my hope. Amen. Ps. lxii. 8.

O that my ways were made so direct that I might keep Thy statutes! O Lord, direct them. Amen. Ps. cxix. 5. Viarum directio.

O Lord, teach me the way of Thy statutes, and I shall keep it unto the end: yea, I shall keep it with my whole heart. O stablish Thy word in Thy servant, that I may fear Thee, and that for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Ps. cxix. 33,[34. 38.] Timor Dei.

Hora Nona.

O Lord, I will call upon Thee in my troubles, O deliver me and hear me; and then especially at what time any storm falls upon me, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Ps. lxxxi. 7. Exaudire. Afflictiones.

Blessed art Thou, O Lord, O teach me Thy statutes; that my whole heart may seek Thee, and that I may not go wrong out of Thy commandments: that I may take greater delight in the way of Thy testimonies, than in all manner of riches. Amen. Ps. cxix. 10. 12. [14.] Viarum directio.

Vesperi.

O praise the Lord, all ye His servants, ye that by night stand in the house of the Lord. With these, O Lord, I lift Ps. cxxxiv. 1. Laus Dei.

up my hands to Thy sanctuary, and will praise Thy name. O Lord, be with me this evening in all the mercies of Jesus Christ my Saviour. Amen.

Protectio. Miseræ carnis meæ infirmitatem Tu nosti, qui finxisti me: invisibilium hostium meorum vigilantiam Tu nosti, qui vides eos; protegat me ala bonitatis Tuæ, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen[a].

COMPLETORIUM.

Ps. cxxxix. 10. O Lord, there is no hiding me from Thy presence: for if I should say, the darkness shall cover me, then shall my night be turned to day. For the darkness is no darkness with Thee, but the night is as clear as the day; the darkness

Confessio. and the light to Thee are both alike. Therefore, O God, I present myself open before Thee; O cleanse my soul, that it may rejoice to be seen of Thee in Jesus Christ. Amen.

Gratiarum Actio. Die jam transacto, gratias Tibi ago, Domine, gloriam Tibi tribuo, quod sine scandalo; hymnis effero, quod liber ab insidiis diem transegerim, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Ps. lxxi. 17, 19, &c. Thy righteousness, O God, is very high; and great things are they which Thou hast done for me. O God, who is like unto Thee? Thou hast brought me to great honour, and

Laus Dei. comforted me on every side. Therefore will I praise Thee and Thy righteousness, O God, and unto Thee will I sing, O Thou Holy One of Israel. My lips will be glad when I sing unto Thee, and so will my soul which Thou hast delivered. My tongue also shall talk of Thy righteousness all the day long: for many are confounded and brought to shame that have sought to do me evil. O Lord, continue

Gratiarum Actio. Thy blessings to me, and multiply my thankfulness to Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

BED-TIME,
ET NOCTE, SI VIGILES.

Ps. cxxi. 4. O Lord, Thou Keeper of Israel, which in the watch over Thy servants dost neither slumber nor sleep, be my keeper, and preserve me this night. O keep my soul. Amen.

[b] [Conf. Lanc. Andrewes, Prec. Priv. p. 230.]

Lord, give me grace to make haste, and not prolong the time to keep Thy commandments. That I may call my own ways to remembrance, and turn my feet to Thy testimonies. And then at midnight will I rise and give Thee thanks, because of Thy righteous judgments, O Lord, my strength and my Redeemer. Amen. Ps. cxix. 59. [60. 62.] Procrastinatio.

Woe is me, that I am constrained to dwell with Mesech, and to have my habitation among the tents of Kedar. For my soul hath too long dwelt among them that are enemies unto peace. Too long, O Lord, but that it is Thy good pleasure to continue my dwelling in this vale of misery. Amen. Ps. cxx. 4. Mors.

Quid es, O Deus meus? Quid rogo nisi Dominum, Deus? Quis enim Dominus præter Dominum, aut quis Deus præter Deum nostrum? Summe, optime, potentissime, misericordissime et justissime, secretissime et præsentissime, pulcherrime et fortissime, stabilis et incomprehensibilis, immutabilis, mutans omnia. Nunquam novus, nunquam vetus, innovans omnia et in vetustatem perducens superbos, et nesciunt. Semper agens, semper quietus, colligens et non egens. Portans, et implens, et protegens, creans, et nutriens, et perficiens. Quæris, cum nihil desit Tibi. Amas, nec æstuas. Zelas, et securus es. Pœnitet Te, et non dolcs. Irasceris, et tranquillus es. Opera mutas, non consilium. Recipis quod invenis, et nunquam amisisti. Nunquam inops, et gaudes lucris. Nunquam avarus, et usuras exigis. Supererogatur Tibi ut debeas, et quis habet quicquam non Tuum? Reddis debita, nulli debens: donas debita, nihil perdens. Et quid dicimus, Deus meus, vita mea, dulcedo mea sancta? Aut quid dicit aliquis, quum de Te dicit? Et væ tacentibus de Te, quoniam loquaces muti sunt. Miserere mei, Deus, ut loquar de Te, et glorificem nomen Tuum. Amen. Adoratio et Glorificatio Dei mei. S. Aug. l. i. Confess. c. 4.[b]

[b] [Op., tom. i. coll. 135. C. D. 136. A.]

PROSPERA.

Ps. xix. 13. LORD, this is the time of fear; keep Thy servant from presumptuous sins, lest they get the dominion over me: that though my sins be many and great, yet I may be innocent from the great offence, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

O Lord, make me worthy of the place to which Thou hast raised me in Thy Church, that all my endeavours may be to make truth and peace meet together. In this course give me understanding to discover my enemies, and wisdom to prevent them: a heart to love my friends, and carriage that may bind them. Lord, make me love Thy Church, and the place where Thine honour dwelleth; that as Thou hast honoured me above many others, so I may honour Thee above all, and spend whatsoever is acceptable in the poor remainder of my life to serve Thee in Thy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Ps. cxix. 37. O Lord, turn away mine eyes that they behold not vanity, and quicken Thou me in Thy way. Amen.

Salvian. l. vi. de Gubernatione Dei, p. 222[a]. O Domine misericors, quando a Te ipse exoratus, (nec enim unquam ita vivimus, ut exorare mereamur,) pacificos nobis dies, proventus uberes, divitem bonis omnibus tranquillitatem, et abundantiam dederis super vota crescentem, ne sinas me tanta secundarum rerum prosperitate corrumpi, ne et Tui penitus obliviscar et mei: sed humilitatem et gratitudinem adauge, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

FAMILIA. DOMUS.

Visita, quæso, Domine, habitationem meam, et omnes insidias inimici ab ea longe repelle: angeli Tui sancti habitent in ea, et nos in pace et sanitate custodiant, et benedictio Tua sit super nos semper, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen[b].

[a] [P. 119. ed. Bremæ, 1688.] [b] [Brev. Rom. Orat. ad Completorium.]

LINGUÆ FRÆNUM.

Let the words of my mouth, and the meditations of my heart, be always acceptable in Thy sight, O Lord, my strength and my Redeemer. Amen. Ps. xix. 14.

Lord, keep my tongue from evil, and my lips that they speak no guile; that so I may eschew evil and do good, seek peace and ensue it. Amen. Ps. xxxiv. 12, 13.

O Lord, give me the mouth of the righteous, that it may be exercised in wisdom, and that my tongue may be talking of judgment. Amen. Ps. xxxvii. 31.

Lord, I have said in Thy grace, I will take heed unto my ways, that I offend not in my tongue. Give me, O give me that grace, that I may take this heed, that I may keep my mouth as it were with a bridle, especially when the ungodly is in my sight, be it never so much pain or grief unto me. Hear me, and grant, even for Christ Jesus His sake. Amen. Ps. xxxix. 1, 2, [3.]

Let the free-will offerings of my mouth please Thee, O Lord, and teach me Thy judgments. Amen. Ps. cxix. 108.

O Lord, set a watch before my mouth, and keep the door of my lips; and let not my heart be inclined to anything that is evil. Amen. Ps. cxli. 3.

O Lord, set a watch before my mouth, and a seal of wisdom upon my lips, that I fall not suddenly by them, and that my tongue destroy me not. Amen. Ecclus. xxii. 27.

AFFLICTIONES.

If I find favour in Thine eyes, O Lord, Thou wilt bring me again, and shew me both the ark and the tabernacle, and set me right in Thy service, and make me joyful and glad in Thee. But if Thou say, (O, for Jesus His sake, say it not,) I have no pleasure in thee; behold, here I am, do with me as seemeth good in Thine own eyes. Amen. David fugiens. 2 Sam. xv. 25.

O Lord, though I be afflicted on every side, let me not be in distress: though in want of some of Thy comforts, yet not 2 Cor. iv. 8.

of all: though I be chastened, yet let me not be forsaken:
2 Cor. iv. 16. though I be cast down, let me not perish: and though my outward man perish, yet let my inward man be renewed daily, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Ps. xxxix. 10. O Lord, whatsoever Thou shalt lay upon me, I will hold my peace, and not open my mouth, because it is Thy doing and my deserving. Amen.

Ps. cxix. 65. O Lord, Thou hast dealt graciously with Thy servant according to Thy word. For before I was troubled I went wrong, but now have I prayed that I may keep Thy law. And it is good for me that I have been in trouble, that so I may learn still to keep it better, in the mercies of Jesus Christ. Amen.

Ver. 75. I know, O Lord, that Thy judgments are right, and that Thou of very faithfulness hast caused me to be troubled. O let Thy merciful kindness be my comfort, according to Thy word unto Thy servant, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Baruch iii. 1, &c. O Lord Almighty, O God of Israel, the soul that is in trouble, and the spirit that is vexed, crieth unto Thee. Hear, O Lord, and have mercy, for Thou art merciful, and have pity upon me, because I have sinned before Thee. For Thou endurest for ever, but unless Thou have mercy I utterly perish. Have mercy, therefore, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Ps. ix. 18. O Lord, remember Thy promise, that the poor shall not always be forgotten, nor the patient abiding of the meek perish for ever. Amen.

Ps. xxxi. 8, &c. Lord, I will be glad and rejoice in Thy mercy, for Thou hast considered my trouble, and hast known my soul in adversities. Amen.

Ver. 10. Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am in trouble, and mine eye is consumed for very heaviness, yea, my soul and
12. my body. My strength faileth me because of mine iniquity,
14. and my bones are consumed: I am even become like a broken
15. vessel. For I have heard the blasphemy of the multitude,
16. and fear is on every side. But my hope hath been and is in Thee, O Lord; Thou art my God, save and deliver me, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Ps. xlii. 5. Why art thou so full of heaviness, O my soul, and why art

thou so disquieted within me? O put thy trust in God, that I may yet give Him thanks for the help of His countenance. O my God, my soul is vexed within me, therefore will I remember Thee. Amen.

Up, Lord, why sleepest Thou? Awake, and be not absent from us for ever; wherefore hidest Thou Thy face, and forgettest our misery and trouble? For our soul is brought low, even unto the dust, our belly cleaves unto the ground. Arise, O Lord, and help us, and deliver us for Thy mercies' sake. Amen. Ps. xliv. 23 [—26.]

In Thee, O Lord, have I put my trust, let me never be put to confusion, deliver me in Thy righteousness. Bow down Thine ear to me, make haste to deliver me. Be Thou my strong rock and house of defence, that Thou mayest save me. Be also my guide, and lead me for Thy name's sake. Amen. Ps. xxxi. 1 [—4.]

O God, the enemy crieth so, and the ungodly cometh on so fast, that they threaten to overbear me, they are minded to do me some mischief, so maliciously are they set against me. My heart is disquieted within me, and the fear of death is fallen upon me. Fearfulness and trembling and an horrible dread hath overwhelmed me. And I said, O that I had wings like a dove, that I might fly away and be at rest; that I might make haste to escape the stormy wind and tempest. But be Thou my helper, and I will magnify Thee, O Lord, my strength and my Redeemer. Amen. Ps. lv. 3 [—8.]

O be Thou my help in trouble, for vain is the help of man. Amen. Ps. lx. 11.

Gracious Father, the life of man is a warfare upon earth, and the dangers which assault us are diversly pointed against us. I humbly beseech Thee, be present with me in all the course and passages of my life; but especially in the services of my calling. Suffer no malice to be able to hurt me, no cunning to circumvent me, no violence to oppress me, no falschood to betray me. That which I cannot foresee, I beseech Thee prevent; that which I cannot withstand, I beseech Thee master; that which I do not fear, I beseech Thee unmask and frustrate; that being delivered from all danger, both of soul and body, I may praise Thee the deliverer, and see how happy a thing it is to make the Lord of Hosts my helper in the day of fear and trouble. Especially, Pericula.

O Lord, bless and preserve me at this time from, &c., that I may glorify Thee for this deliverance also, and be safe in the merits and the mercies of Jesus Christ my only Lord and Saviour. Amen.

Ps. lxxx. 5 [—7.] O Lord, Thou hast fed me with the bread of affliction, and given me plenty of tears to drink. I am become a very strife to my neighbours, and mine enemies laugh me to scorn. But turn Thee again, Thou God of Hosts, shew me the light of Thy countenance, and I shall be whole. Amen.

Ps. cix. 25, [26.] Help me, O Lord my God, O save me according to Thy mercy; and then the world shall know that this is Thy hand, and that Thou, Lord, hast done it. Amen, Lord Jesu, Amen.

Ps. cxix. 92. If my delight had not been in Thy law, I should have perished in my trouble. O continue my delight. Amen.

PESTILENTIA.

Ps. xxxix. 9, 11. Deliver me, O Lord, from all my offences, and make me not a rebuke to the foolish. Take, I humbly beseech Thee, Thy plague away from Thy people, for we begin to be consumed by means of Thy heavy hand. And for Jesus Christ His sake lay neither me nor mine under this uncomfortable disease. Amen.

Ps. xci. 3 [—7.] O Lord, deliver me from the snare of the hunter, and from the noisome pestilence; O defend me under Thy wings, and keep me safe under Thy feathers, that I may not be afraid for any terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day; for the pestilence that walketh in the darkness, nor for the sickness that destroyeth in the noon-day. Though thousands fall beside me, and ten thousands at my right hand, yet let it not come near me, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Ver. 10. O Lord, Thou art my hope, I beseech Thee let no evil happen unto me, neither let any plague come nigh my dwelling; but give Thine angels charge over me to keep me in all my ways, O Lord, my strength and my Redeemer. Amen.

Ps. lxxix. 12. O let the sorrowful sighing of them whom Thou hast visited come before Thee; and according to the greatness both of

Thy power and mercy preserve Thou them that are appointed to die, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

O Lord, I beseech Thee favourably to hear the prayers of Thy humble servant; that I and my family, which are justly punished for our offences, may be mercifully delivered by Thy goodness from this and all other infection, both of soul and body; that so we may live both to serve and to praise Thee, to the glory of Thy great name, through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour. Amen. Domin. Septuagesima. Si intret Familiam.

O Almighty God, which in Thy wrath in the time of King David didst slay with the plague of pestilence threescore and ten thousand, and yet remembering Thy mercy didst save the rest; have pity upon us miserable sinners, that now are visited with great sickness and mortality; and like as Thou didst then command Thine angel to cease from punishing, so it may now please Thee to withdraw from us this plague and grievous sickness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Liturg. Angl.

O Lord God, who hast wounded us for our sins, and consumed us for our transgressions, by Thy late heavy and long-continued visitation, and in the midst of that judgment remembering mercy, hast redeemed us from death; we offer up unto Thee ourselves, our souls and bodies, (which Thou hast now delivered,) to be a living sacrifice unto Thee. And here I offer up unto Thee, most merciful Father, in the name of all Thy people, all possible praise and thanks, and shall ever magnify Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Liturg. Angl. Gratiarum Actio post Liberationem.

MORBUS.

O Lord, the sorrows of death compass me, and the snares of it are ready to overtake me. When Thou wilt dissolve my tabernacle, Thou alone knowest: therefore in this my trouble I will call upon Thee my Lord, and will complain unto my God. O be with me at the instant of my death, and receive me, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Ps. xviii. 3—5.

Ps. xxxi. 6. Into Thy hands I commend my spirit, for Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.

Ps. xxxii. 4. O Lord, Thy hand is heavy upon me day and night, and my moisture is become like the drought in summer. I acknowledge my sin unto Thee, O Lord, and my unrighteousness have I not hid. O Lord, be merciful unto me. Amen.

Ps. xxxix. 13[—15.] O Lord, hear my prayer, and with Thine ears consider my calling; hold not Thy peace at my tears. For I am a stranger with Thee, and a sojourner, as all my fathers were. O spare me a little, that I may recover my strength before I go hence and be no more seen. Amen.

[Liturg. Angl. in Off. Mort.] O Domine, media vita in morte sumus, unde aut a quo quærimus auxilium, nisi a Te, Domine, qui tamen pro peccatis nostris merito infensus es nobis? Sancte fortis, sancte misericors Salvator, amarissimis pœnis mortis æternæ ne tradas me. Ne projicias me in tempore ægritudinis meæ, quum deficit virtus mea, ne derelinquas me. Domine, ante Te omne desiderium meum, et suspiria mea a Te non sunt abscondita. Nosti, Domine, nosti intima cordis mei; ne, quæso, occludas precibus meis aures misericordiæ Tuæ. Quin parce mihi, O Domine sanctissime, O Omnipotens Deus, sanctus et Salvator maxime misericors, dignissime et æterne Judex, ne sinas me in hora mea novissima pro quocunque terrore mortis excidere a Te. Amen, O Domine Salvator Jesu.

[Ps. lxxi. 8.]

[Ps. xxxviii. 9.]

Ps. cxvi. 3, 4. [8.] O Lord, the snares of death compass me round about, the pains of hell get hold upon me. I have found trouble and heaviness, but will call upon Thy name, O Lord; O Lord, deliver my soul. Deliver my soul from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling; that I may walk before Thee in the land of the living. Amen.

Ps. cxviii. 18, [19.] Thou, O Lord, hast chastened and corrected me, but not given me yet over unto death. Open me the gates of righteousness, that I may go into them, and give thanks unto the Lord. Amen.

[Ps. xxxviii. 3.] There is no health in my flesh by reason of Thy wrath, neither is there any rest in my bones by reason of my sin. Yet, O Lord, be merciful unto me, and heal me, even for Thy name's sake. Amen.

O Lord, I give Thee humble and hearty thanks for the great and almost miraculous bringing of me back from the bottom of my grave. What Thou hast further for me to do or to suffer, Thou alone knowest. Lord, give me patience and courage, and all Christian resolution to do Thee service, and grace to do it. And let me not live longer than to honour Thee, through Jesus Christ. Amen[d].

Liberatio a Morbo gravissimo, in quem incidi Aug. 14, 1629[c].

BELLUM.

O my God, though mighty nations gather together on heaps, yet let them be broken in pieces; though they take counsel together, bring it to nought. For though they pronounce a decree, yet it shall not stand, if Thou, O God, be with us. Be with us therefore, O God, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Esai. viii. 9, 10.

Blessed be Thou, O Saviour of Israel, which didst destroy the assault of the mighty man, by the hand of Thy servant David, and gavest the host of strangers into the hand of Jonathan; shut up this army in the hand of Israel, and let them be confounded with their power, and with their horsemen. Make them afraid, and consume their boldness and strength, that they may be astonished at their own destruction. Cast them down by the sword of them that love Thee; that we which love Thy name may praise Thee and sing unto Thee. Grant this for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

1 Macc. iv. 30.

O Lord of Hosts, give us strength that we may follow on upon our enemies and overtake them, and not return till we have destroyed them. O gird us with strength unto the battle, that we may smite them, that they may not be able to stand, but fall under our feet. And when Thou hast thus blessed us, make us fall down at Thy feet, and ever worship Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Ps. xviii. 37, [38.]

O make the wars to cease in all the world, break the bow, and knap the spear in sunder, and burn the chariot in the

Ps. xlvi. 9, [10.]

[c] [This severe illness has already been noticed. (See above, p. 14, note [c].) The Archbishop continued to suffer from it till the following March; and in his address to the University of Oxford, on being admitted Chancellor, April 28, 1630, he speaks of himself as still suffering from its effects.—Hist. of Chancellorship, p. 10.]

[d] [The edition of 1663, ends at this place.]

fire; that men may be still, and know that Thou art God, that Thou wilt be exalted among the heathen, and in the earth. Amen.

Ps. xliv. 10, [11. 13, 14. 16.] Lord, be not far off, put us not to confusion, but go out with our armies and prosper them, that we may not turn our backs upon our enemies, while they that hate us spoil our persons, our honour, and our goods. O sell not us Thy poor people for nought; make us not a rebuke to our insolent neighbours, nor a scorn to them that are round about us. Our confusion by reason of our sins is daily before us, and the shame of our face hath covered us. But, Lord, we humbly beseech Thee forgive us our sins, and deliver us, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Ps. cviii. 11, [12.] Hast Thou forsaken us, O God? and wilt not Thou, O God, go forth with our hosts? O help us against the enemy, for vain is the help of man. O Lord, help us. Amen.

Liturg. Angl. O Almighty God, King of kings, and Governor of all things, whose power no creature is able to resist, to whom it belongeth justly to punish sinners, and to be merciful to them that truly repent; save and deliver us, we humbly beseech Thee, from the hands of our enemies; abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices; that we, being armed with Thy defence, may be preserved evermore from all perils, to glorify Thee, who art the only giver of all victory, through the merits of Thy only Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Liturg. Angl. Gratiarum Actio. Almighty God, who art a strong tower of defence unto Thy servants against the face of their enemies; we give Thee praise and thanks for our deliverance from those great and apparent dangers wherewith we were compassed. We acknowledge it Thy great goodness that we were not delivered over as a prey unto them. And we humbly beseech Thee to continue such Thy mercies towards us, that all the world may know that Thou art our Saviour and mighty Deliverer, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O Lord, bless the King, all his commanders under him, [Ps. cxl. 7.] and all his soldiers. Cover all their heads, his especially, in [Ps. cxliv. 1.] the day of battle. Teach all their hands to war and their fingers to fight. And bless all the guides and conductors of his armies under him, with wisdom and courage, and faith-

fulness, watchfulness and diligence, and whatsoever else may lead on good success. And set a happy end, we humbly beseech Thee, to all these bloody distractions, and restore peace, and preserve religion in integrity among us, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

PAUPERTAS.

O Lord, when Thou makest inquisition for blood, remember and forget not the complaint of the poor. Ps. ix. 12.

Arise, O Lord God, and lift up Thy hand; forget not the poor. Take his cause into Thy hand, for he commits himself unto Thee, and Thou art the helper of the friendless. O be so still, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Ps. x. 12. 14.

O praise the Lord, ye that fear Him, and magnify Him, all ye of the seed of Jacob: for He hath not despised nor abhorred the low estate of the poor, He hath not hid His face from Him, but when he called unto Him, He heard him. O bow down Thine ear and hear him still, O Thou Holy One of Israel. Amen. Ps. xxii. 23, [24.]

I am poor and needy, O God, make haste unto me: Thou art my helper and my deliverer, O Lord, make no long tarrying. Amen. Ps. lxx. 5.

DOLOR.

Lord, turn Thee unto me, and have mercy upon me, for I am desolate and in misery. The sorrows of my heart are enlarged, O bring Thou me out of my troubles. Look upon mine adversity and misery, and forgive me all my sins, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Ps. xxv. 15, [16.]

Hear my crying, O God, give ear unto my prayer; from the ends of the earth, whithersoever Thou shalt cast me, I will call upon Thee, when my heart is in heaviness. O set me upon the rock that is higher than I, to be my hope and a strong tower against my oppressors. Amen. Ps. lxi. 1, [2, 3.]

Ps. lxix. 1 [—4.] 15 [—18.] Save me, O God, for the waters are entered into my soul. I stick fast in the deep mire, where no stay is, I am come into deep waters, and the streams run over me. They that hate me without a cause are more than the hairs of my head, and they which would destroy me causeless are mighty. O let not these waterfloods drown me, neither let the deep swallow me up, and let not the pit shut her mouth upon me. Hear me, O Lord, for Thy loving-kindness is great; turn unto me according to the multitude of Thy tender mercies. Hide not Thy face from Thy servant, for I am in trouble, but draw near unto my soul, and redeem it, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Ps. cxix. 28. My soul melteth away for very heaviness; comfort Thou me according to Thy word. Amen.

Ps. cxix. 143. Tristitia. O Lord, trouble and heaviness have taken hold upon me; patience, good Lord, that for all this my delight may be in Thy commandments. Amen.

INFAMIA.

Ps. xliv. 14 [—17.] O Lord, my sins have made me a rebuke to my neighbours, and to be laughed to scorn of them that are round about me. O suffer me not longer to be a by-word among the people. My confusion is daily before me, and the shame of my face hath covered me. The voice of the slanderer and blasphemer hath overtaken me. And though all this be come upon me, suffer me not, O Lord, to forget Thee, or to behave myself frowardly in Thy covenant, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Ps. lv. 9. 16. Destroy their tongues, O Lord, and divide them, for I have seen cruelty and strife in the city. But I will call upon Thee, O Lord, and Thou wilt save me. Amen.

Ps. lvii. 3, 4. O Lord, send down from heaven, and save me from the reproof of them that would swallow me. Send out Thy mercy and truth, for my soul is among lions; I lie among the children of men that are set on fire, whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword. O deliver me, and I shall magnify Thy name for ever. Amen.

I am become a monster to many, but Thou art my sure trust. O be my anchor for ever. Amen. Ps. lxxi. 7.

O remember, Lord, the rebuke that Thy servant hath, and how I do bear in my bosom the rebukes of many people. O remember me. Amen. Ps. lxxxix. 49.

VIS.

O Lord, the ungodly laid wait for me to destroy me, yet make me the more thankful, and the more careful to consider Thy testimonies. Amen. Ps. cxix. 95.

O Lord, they draw nigh that of malice persecute me; therefore be Thou nigh at hand to help me, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Ver. 150.

Many, O Lord, they are that trouble me and persecute me, yet do I not swerve from Thy testimonies: yes, Lord, I do daily swerve from them. Quicken me as Thou art wont. Amen. Ver. 157.

O take from me shame and rebuke, and I will keep Thy testimonies. O take away the rebuke that I am afraid of, for Thy judgments are good. O Lord, do this for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Ver. 22. Ver. 39.

TIMOR.

Lord, make me remember that the fear of Thee is clean, and that Thy judgments are true and righteous altogether. Amen. Ps. xix. 9.

O Lord, give me that grace that I may so carry myself, and that courage that I may so bear up myself, as that I may fear none but Thee, nothing but that wherein I offend Thee, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

FRAUDES. DOLUS.

O Lord, watch over Thy servant; for my familiar friends whom I trusted have laid wait for me. Be Thou merciful Ps. xli. 9, [10, 11.]

unto me, O Lord, and deliver me from them; that even in this I may know Thou favourest me, that mine enemies are not able to triumph against me. Amen.

Ps. lvii. 5, [6.] Exalt Thyself, O God, above the heavens, and Thy glory upon all the earth. For men have laid a net for my steps, they have pressed down my soul, they have digged a pit before me. Lord, I desire not that they should fall into the midst of it themselves; but I beseech Thee keep me out and deliver me, for Thy mercy's sake. Amen.

[Ps. xliv. 26.]

Ps. lxxi. [9,] 10. Mine enemies lay wait for my soul, and take counsel together. They pursue me out of an opinion that Thou, O God, hast forsaken me. But go not far from me, O God; my God, haste to help me. Amen.

Ps. cxix. 85 [—87.] O Lord, the proud have digged pits for me; they persecute me falsely, O be Thou my help. They had almost made an end of me upon earth, yet suffer me not, I beseech Thee, to depart from Thy commandments, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Ps. cxli. 10, [11.] Lord, keep me from the snare which malicious men have laid for me, and from the traps of wicked doers. If they will not repent, let them fall into their own nets together, but let me ever escape them. Amen.

Ps. cxlii. 2. 7, [8.] O Lord, I pour out my complaints before Thee; consider them, for I am brought very low. O deliver me from my persecutors, for they are too strong for me. Amen.

TEMPLI INGRESSUS.

Ps. v. 7. Lord, I will come into Thy house upon the multitude of Thy mercies, and in Thy fear will I worship towards Thy holy temple. O bless me that I may. Amen.

Ps. xxviii. 2. Hear the voice of my humble petitions, O Lord, when I cry unto Thee in this place, when I hold my hands towards the mercy-seat of Thy holy temple, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Ps. lxi. 4. I will dwell in Thy tabernacle for ever, and my trust shall be under the covering of Thy wings. O Lord, hear our desires, and give an heritage unto those that pray unto Thee, and fear Thy name. Amen.

O my God, I will go into Thy gates with thanksgiving, and into Thy courts with praise: I will be thankful unto Thee, and speak good of Thy name: for Thou, Lord, art gracious, Thy mercy is everlasting, and Thy truth endureth from generation to generation. Amen. Ps. c. 3, 4.

O Lord, I love the habitation of Thy house, and the place where Thine honour dwelleth. O shut not up my soul with impenitent sinners, but give me plenty of Thy grace, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Ps. xxvi. 8, [9.]

FAMES.

Be merciful, O Lord, and remember us, that we be not confounded in these perilous times, and that in these days of dearth we may have enough, and a free heart and hand to bestow it upon Thy poor ones, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Ps. xxxvii. 19.

O Lord, our sins have prevailed against us, yet be Thou merciful unto our transgressions. O visit the earth, and prepare corn for the inhabitants thereof. Crown the year with Thy goodness, and let no cloud drop other than fatness; that the very hills may rejoice on every side, that the pastures may be covered with sheep, and the valleys with corn, that Thy people may rejoice and sing unto Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Ps. lxv. 8, 9[—13.]

O God, heavenly Father, who by Thy Son Jesus Christ hast promised to all them that seek Thy kingdom and the righteousness thereof all things necessary for their bodily sustenance, behold, we beseech Thee, the afflictions of Thy people, and grant that the scarcity and dearth (which we do now most justly suffer for our sins) may through Thy goodness be mercifully turned into cheapness and plenty, for the love of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Liturg. Angl.

O Lord, be mercifully pleased to give and preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth, so that in due time we may enjoy them, and praise Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Litan. Angl.

PLUVIA.

Liturg. Angl. O God, heavenly Father, whose gift it is that the rain doth fall, the earth is fruitful, beasts increase, and fishes do multiply, send us, we beseech Thee, such moderate rain and showers, that we may receive the fruits of the earth to our comfort, and to Thy honour, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

SERENITAS.

Liturg. Angl. O Lord God, which for the sin of Man didst once drown all the world, except eight persons, and afterward of Thy great mercy didst promise never to destroy it so again; we humbly beseech Thee, that though we for our iniquities have worthily deserved a plague of rain and waters, yet upon our true repentance Thou wilt give us such weather, whereby we may receive the fruits of the earth in due season; and learn both by Thy punishment to amend our lives, and for Thy clemency to give Thee praise and glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

PŒNITENTIALES.

Psalmi. vi. xxxii. xxxviii. li. cii. cxxx. cxliii.

Ps. xc. 13 [—15.] O Lord, turn Thee again now at the last, and be gracious unto Thy servant. O satisfy me with Thy mercy, and that soon, so shall I rejoice and be glad all the days of my life. And when Thou hast forgiven my sins, O comfort me again after the time that Thou hast plagued me, and for the years wherein I have suffered adversity, O Jesus Christ my Saviour, and be merciful. Amen.

Ps. cxix. 116. 120. O Lord, my flesh trembleth for fear of Thee, and I am afraid of Thy judgments; yet stablish me according to Thy

word, that I may live, and let me not be disappointed of my hope, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

I have gone astray, like a sheep that is lost; O seek Thy servant, that I may not forget Thy commandments, but return to Thee. Amen. Ps. cxix. 176.

O Lord, our iniquities testify against us; for our backslidings are many, and we have sinned against Thee: yet, O Thou hope of Israel, Thou Saviour thereof in time of trouble, shew mercy for Thy name's sake; and on me especially. For why shouldest Thou be as a stranger in my soul, or as a wayfaring man that turns aside to tarry but for a night? O Lord, be and dwell in the midst of me, for Thy name is called upon me. Leave me not, O God of my salvation, but have mercy, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Jer. xiv. 7, 8, 9.

For Thy name's sake, O Lord, be merciful unto my sin, for it is great. Amen. Ps. xxv. 10.

O Lord Almighty, I acknowledge and confess I am not worthy to lift up mine eyes to heaven, much less to present myself before Thee with any confidence that Thou shouldest hear my prayers and grant my requests, if I consider my own deserving. For my conscience accuses me, and my sins witness against me; and Thou art a just and an upright Judge, and wilt not justify any sinner in His transgressions. O Lord, suffer me not to be swallowed up of death and desperation, but in the multitude of Thy mercies pardon me, O Lord, for Thy goodness' sake. For though I am a worm and no man, yet Thou art my Creator, and I am the work of Thy hands; yea, Thou art my Father, and I Thy son; Thou my Shepherd, and I one of Thy straggling flock; Thou my Redeemer, and I one of Thy people whom Thou hast dearly bought; Thou my God, and I Thy creature. O correct me not in Thine anger, O Lord, neither punish me according to my deservings, but remember my weakness as well as my sin, and have mercy upon me, for my dearest Saviour's sake, Jesus Christ. Amen.

Almighty and everlasting God, which hatest nothing that Thou hast made, and forgivest the sins of all them that are penitent, create and make in me a new and contrite heart, that I may worthily lament my sins, and acknowledge my wretchedness, and obtain of Thee, the God of all mercy, Coll. in Die Ciner.

perfect remission and forgiveness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Dom. xii. post Trin. Almighty and everlasting God, which art always more ready to hear than we to pray, and usest to give more than either we desire or deserve; pour down upon me, most miserable sinner, the abundance of Thy mercy, forgiving me those things whereof my conscience is afraid, and giving me that which my prayer dares not presume to ask. Grant this for Jesus Christ His sake, our Lord and only Saviour. Amen.

Dom. xxi. post Trin. Grant, I beseech Thee, merciful God, to me Thy sinful but humble servant, pardon and peace, that I may be cleansed from all my sins, and serve Thee with a quiet mind, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Dom. xxiv. post Trin. Lord, I beseech Thee, free me from all my offences, and by Thy bountiful goodness deliver me from the bands of all those sins which by my ignorance, frailty, or wilfulness I have committed. Grant this, even for Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Coll. in fine Lit. Angl. O God, merciful Father, that despisest not the sighing of a contrite heart, nor the desire of such as be sorrowful; mercifully assist my prayers that I make before Thee in all my troubles and adversities, whensoever they oppress me: and graciously hear me, that those evils which the craft and subtilty of the devil or man worketh against me be brought to nought, and by the providence of Thy goodness so dispersed, that I Thy poor servant being overcome by no temptation, nor hurt by any persecution, may evermore give thanks unto Thee in Thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Lit. Angl. O Lord, of Thy great goodness I beseech Thee give me true repentance, and forgive me all my sins, negligences, and ignorances, and endue me with the grace of Thy Holy Spirit, that I may amend my life according to Thy holy word, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Liturg. Angl. O God, whose nature and property is ever to have mercy and to forgive, receive my humble petitions; and though I am tied and bound with the chain of my sins, yet let the pitifulness of Thy great mercy loose me, and that for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Exaudi, quæso, Domine, supplicis preces, et confitentis Tibi parce peccatis, ut pariter mihi indulgentiam tribuas benignus et pacem, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Amen.

Omnipotens Deus, qui aquam de petra produxisti, educ de duritia cordis mei compunctionis lacrymas; ut peccata mea ita plangere valeam, ut remissionem eorum Te miserante accipiam, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen [c].

Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Maker of all things, Judge of all men, I acknowledge and bewail my manifold sins and wickedness, which I have from time to time most grievously committed, by thought, word, and deed, against Thy Divine Majesty, provoking most justly Thy wrath and indignation against me. I do earnestly repent, and am heartily sorry for these my misdoings; the remembrance of them is grievous unto me, the burden of them is intolerable. Have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, most merciful Father. For Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ His sake, forgive me all that is past, and grant that I may ever hereafter serve and please Thee in newness of life, to the honour and glory of Thy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Liturg. Angl. in Commun.

Almighty God, and my most merciful Father, who of Thy tender mercy hast promised forgiveness of sins to all them which with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto Thee; have mercy upon me, pardon and deliver me from all my sins, confirm and strengthen me in all goodness, and bring me to everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Ibidem.

Piissime Domine, misericordissime Deus, sufficiat mihi quod hucusque peccavi, quod contempsi, quod fœtoribus carnis meæ satisfeci, jam nunc Te inspirante voveo me a nequitia mea conversurum. Adjuva, Domine, et des ut impleam, in et per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. S. Aug. Ser. vii. de Tempore [f].

[c] [Brev. Rom. Orat. ii. post Litan. Cf. Liturg. Angl. Orat. i. in Comminat.]

[f] [Al. Serm. cxvii. in Append. Op., tom. v. col. 2650. A.B.]

GRATIARUM ACTIO ET LAUDES.

Pro Liberatione ab Inimicis. Ps. xxx. 1 [—4.]

I will magnify Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast set me up, and not made my foes to triumph over me. O Lord, my God, I cried unto Thee, and Thou hast healed me; Thou hast kept my life from them that go down into the pit. Sing praises unto the Lord, O my soul, and give thanks unto Him for a remembrance of His holiness. Amen.

Ps. xxxv. 9, [10.]

O my soul, be joyful in the Lord, and rejoice in His salvation. All my bones shall say, Lord, who is like unto Thee, which deliverest the poor from him that is too strong for him: yea, the poor, and him that is in misery, from him that spoileth him? Amen.

Ps. vii. 18.

I will give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, according to Thy righteousness, and I will praise Thy name, O Lord most high.

Ps. xlvii. 2, 3. Post Victoriam in bello.

O Lord, Thou art high and terrible, a great King over all the earth; Thou hast subdued the people under us, and the nations under our feet: therefore will I sing praises unto Thee, O God, who art greatly to be exalted. Amen.

Ps. lvi. 12, [13.]

Thy vows are upon me, O my God, I will render praise unto Thee, for Thou hast delivered my soul from death and my feet from falling, that I may yet walk before Thee, O my God, in the light of the living, and bless Thee. Amen.

S. Aug. Orat. de 5. Hæres. cap. vii.[s]

Gratias Tibi, Deus; Gratias Tibi vera et una Trinitas, una et trina Veritas, trina et una Unitas. Gratias Tibi, Deus Pater, qui et Filium Tuum ostendisti, et mihi Doctorem dedisti. O et semper des in misericordiis antiquis. Amen.

Ps. lvii. 7. [9, 10.]

My heart is ready, O Lord, my heart is ready, I will sing and give praise; yea, I will praise Thee among the people, and I will sing unto Thee among the nations. O let Thy mercy, which is great unto the heavens, and Thy truth, which reacheth unto the clouds, embrace me and preserve me to Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Ps. ix. 1, [2. 4. 10. 14.]

I will give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, with my whole heart, I will speak of all Thy marvellous works; I will be glad and rejoice in Thee, yea, my songs will I make of Thy name, O Thou most highest. For Thou hast maintained my

[s] [Op., tom. viii. col. 1545. B.]

right and my cause, Thou art set in the throne that judgest right. Lord, continue to be my defence against the oppressor, and my refuge in due time of trouble, that I may ever rejoice in Thy salvation Jesus Christ. Amen.

My trust is in Thee, O God, and my heart is joyful in Thy salvation. I will sing unto Thee, O Lord, because Thou hast dealt so lovingly with me; yea, I will praise Thy name, O Lord most highest. Amen. Ps. xiii. 5, [6.]

O praise the Lord with me, ye that fear Him, magnify Him, all ye of the seed of Jacob. My praise shall be of Thee in the great congregation, and my vows will I perform in the sight of them that fear Thee. Amen. Ps. xxii. 23. [25.]

What profit is there in my blood, when I go down to the pit? Shall the dust give thanks unto Thee, or shall it declare Thy truth? Hear, O Lord, and have mercy upon me; Lord, be Thou my helper. Thou hast turned my heaviness into joy; Thou hast put off my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness; therefore will I sing of Thy praise without ceasing. O my God, I will give thanks unto Thee for ever. Amen. Ps. xxx. 9 [—12.]

I will always give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, Thy praise shall ever be in my mouth. My soul shall make her boast of Thee, O my God, and the humble shall hear thereof, and be glad. For I sought Thee, O Lord, and Thou heardest me, and didst deliver me out of all my fear, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Ps. xxxiv. 1, [2. 4.]

Let my mouth be filled with praise, and with Thy glory every day. Amen. Ps. lxxi. 8.

O Lord, who is like unto Thee? For Thou hast shewed me great troubles and adversities; but Thou wilt, I hope, return and quicken me; Thou wilt return and take me out of this depth. Amen. Ver. 20.

I will thank Thee, O Lord my God, with all my heart, and will praise Thy name for ever. For great is Thy mercy towards me, and Thou hast delivered my soul from the nethermost hell. O deliver it still, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Ps. lxxxvi. 12, [13.]

O Lord, I give Thee humble and hearty thanks for the measure of knowledge which Thou hast given me of Thy truth; for giving me a love to it, and Thy Church; for quieting my soul in the midst of Thy Church's distractions;

for the measure of rest and repose which Thou hast given me in Thee, whereas no true content is found without Thee. Lord, I give Thee humble thanks likewise for the temporal blessings which Thou hast heaped on me; the favour of my liege lord and sovereign; the place to which Thou hast raised me; the means which Thou hast given me to do good. Lord, I cannot name all Thy blessings, how shall I thank Thee for them? Lord, I will thank Thee for them by honouring Thee in them. O give a heart to desire all this, and grace to perform it; that my sins may be forgiven me, and that I may be Thine, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Ps. cxxxv. 3. Ps. cxxxviii. 1, [2.] O praise the Lord, for He is gracious; O sing unto His name, for it is lovely. I will give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, with my whole heart, I will worship towards Thy holy temple, and praise Thy name; and that because of Thy loving-kindness and truth, for Thou hast magnified Thy name and Thy word above all things. Lord, give me grace to obey Thy word, and to honour Thy name for ever, in Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

PRO INIMICIS.

S. Matt. v. 44. O Lord, I beseech Thee forgive mine enemies all their sins against Thee, and give me that measure of Thy grace, that for their hatred I may love them, for their cursing I may bless them, for their injury I may do them good, and for their persecution I may pray for them. Lord, I pray for them; forgive them, for they know not what they do. Amen.

Deus pacis et charitatis, da omnibus inimicis mihi pacem et charitatem, omniumque remissionem peccatorum, meque ab eorum insidiis potenter eripe; per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

CONTRA INIMICOS.

Ps. xxv. 19. O Lord, consider mine enemies how many they are, and they bear a tyrannous hate against me. Lord, deliver me from them. Amen.

Almighty God, I humbly beseech Thee, look upon the hearty desires of Thy humble servant, and stretch out the right hand of Thy Majesty to be my defence against all mine enemies, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Dom. iii. Quadrag.

Be merciful unto me, O God, for mine enemies would swallow me up, and many they are which fight against me, O Thou Most Highest; they gather together and keep themselves close, they mark my steps, because they lay wait for my soul. But when I was afraid I trusted in Thee; and when I cry, then shall mine enemies turn back. This Thou wilt make me know, when Thou art with me. Be with me therefore, O Lord, and let me see deliverance. Amen. Ps. lvi. 1, [2. 6. 9.]

O Lord, let not them that are mine enemies triumph over me, neither let them wink with their eyes that hate me, either without a cause, or for Thy cause. Amen. Ps. xxxv. 19.

O Lord God, in Thee have I put my trust, save me from all them that persecute me, and deliver me; lest they devour my soul like a lion, and tear it in pieces while there is none to help. Lift up Thyself, O God, because of the indignation of mine enemies; arise up for me in the judgment which Thou hast commanded, that my help may still be from Thee, O God, who preservest them that are true of heart. Amen. Ps. vii. 1, [2. 6. 11.]

Have mercy upon me, O God, consider the trouble which I suffer of them that hate me, O Thou that liftest me up from the gates of death. Amen. Ps. ix. 13.

Hear my voice, O God, in my prayer, preserve my life from fear of the enemy; hide me from the conspiracy of the wicked, and from the rage of the workers of iniquity. They have whet their tongues like a sword, and shoot out their arrows, even bitter words; Lord, deliver me from them. Amen. Ps. lxiv. 1[—3.]

EPISCOPATUS.

Deus omnium fidelium Pastor et Rector, me famulum Tuum, quem pastorem Ecclesiæ Cantuar. præesse voluisti, propitius respice; Da mihi, humillime peto, verbo et exemplo Menev. Bathon. London. Diœcesis[h].

[h] [He was elected Bishop of St. David's, Oct. 10, 1621; of Bath and Wells, Aug. 16, 1626; of London, July 15, 1628; and Archbishop of Canterbury, Sept. 19, 1633. See the Diary under those respective dates.]

quibus præsum proficere. Ut una cum grege mihi credito ad vitam perveniam sempiternam, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

S. Aug. lib. 22. contra Faust. cap. 69. de Mosc.[1]

O Deus mi, Pater clementissime, gratia Tua ita in me operetur, ut sim humilis in recusando omne magnum ministerium, subditus tamen in suscipiendo, fidelis in servando, strenuus in exsequendo, in regendo populo vigilans, in corrigendo vehemens, in amando ardens, in sustinendo patiens, in moderando prudens; ut pro iis quibus præsum Deo me interponam consulenti, opponam irascenti, in fiducia et meritis Jesu Christi Salvatoris nostri. Amen.

Esai. lv. 10, [11.]

O Lord, as the rain cometh down from heaven, and returns not thither, but waters the earth, and makes it bud and bring forth, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to him that eateth; so let Thy word be that goeth out of my mouth; let it not return to me void, but accomplish that which Thou wilt, and prosper in the thing whereto Thou hast sent it, that the people committed to my charge may go out with joy, and be led forth in peace to Thy freshest waters of comfort, in Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O Son of God, Thou which takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon me in this heavy charge. Amen.

REX.

Ps. lxi. 6 [—8.]

O Lord, grant the King a long life, that his years may endure as many ages: furnish him with wise and safe counsels, and give him a heart of courage and constancy to pursue them. O prepare Thy loving mercy and faithfulness for him, that they may preserve him; so will I always sing praises unto Thy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Ps. xx. 1 [—4. 6.]

O Lord, hear the King in the day of his trouble, that Thy name, O God of Jacob, may defend him. Send him help from Thy sanctuary, and strength out of Sion. Grant him his heart's desire, and fulfil all his mind. Set his heart firm upon Thee, and upon other things but as they are in and

[1] [Op., tom. viii. coll. 620. D. 621. A.]

from Thee; that we his servants under Thee may see with joy that Thou helpest Thine Anointed, and that Thou wilt hear him from Thy holy heaven, even with the wholesome strength of Thy right hand. And, O Lord, close not mine eyes till I see Thy favour shine out upon him, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

ECCLESIA.

O Lord, we humbly beseech Thee to keep Thy Church and household continually in Thy true religion, that they which do lean only upon hope of Thy heavenly grace, may evermore be defended by Thy mighty power; and that I may humbly and faithfully serve Thee in this Thy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Dom. v. post Epiphan.

Gracious Father, I humbly beseech Thee for Thy holy Catholic Church, fill it with all truth, in all truth with all peace. Where it is corrupt, purge it; where it is in error, direct it; where it is superstitious, rectify it; where anything is amiss, reform it; where it is right, strengthen and confirm it; where it is in want, furnish it; where it is divided and rent asunder, make up the breaches of it; O Thou Holy One of Israel. Amen.

O merciful God, since Thou hast ordered me to live in these times, in which the rents of Thy Church are grievous; I humbly beseech Thee to guide me, that the divisions of men may not separate me either from Thee or it, that I may ever labour the preservation of truth and peace, that where for and by our sins the peace of it succeeds not, Thou wilt yet accept my will for the deed, that I may still pray, even while Thou grantest not, because I know Thou wilt grant it when Thou seest it fit. In the meantime bless, I beseech Thee, this Church in which I live, that in it I may honour and serve Thee all the days of my life, and after this be glorified by Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O Lord, Thou hast brought a Vine out of Egypt, and planted it; Thou madest room for it, and when it had taken Ps. lxxx. 8, [9.12—15.]

root it filled the land. O why hast Thou broken down her hedge, that all which go by pluck off her grapes? The wild boar out of the wood rooteth it up, and the wild beasts of the field devour it. O turn Thee again, Thou God of Hosts, look down from heaven, behold, and visit this Vine, and the place of the vineyard that Thy right hand hath planted, and the branch that Thou madest so strong for Thyself. Lord, hear me, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Ps. cxxvii. 1[—3.] O Lord, except Thou buildest the house, their labour is but lost that build it; and except Thou, O Lord, keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain. It is but lost labour to rise early, and take late rest, and to eat the bread of carefulness, if Thou bless not the endeavours that seek the peace and the welfare of Thy Church. Therefore, O Lord, build Thy Church and keep it, and take care for it, that there may be no lost labour among the builders of it. Amen.

Ecclesia Angl. post Possessiones direptas. Nehem. ix. 32, 33. O Lord our God, the great, the mighty, and the terrible God; O Thou which keepest covenant and mercy, let not all the trouble seem little before Thee that hath come upon us, upon our priests, upon the houses built and dedicated to Thy name, upon the maintenance for them that serve at Thy altar, upon our kings, state, and people, since that day of affliction. Thou art just in all that is brought upon us: for Thou hast done right, but we have done wickedly. Yet, O Lord, have mercy, and turn to us again, for Jesus' and His mercy's sake. Amen.

RESPUBLICA.

Ps. xxxiii. 10. 12. O Lord, Thou which bringest the counsels of the heathen to nought, and makest the devices of the people to be of none effect, and castest out the counsels of princes when they have offended Thee; have mercy upon this kingdom, forgive the sins of this people; turn Thee unto them and bless them, that the world may say, Blessed are the people whose God is the Lord Jehovah, and blessed are the folk that He hath chosen to Him to be His inheritance. Lord, hear and grant, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

Lord, bless this kingdom, that religion and virtue may season all sorts of men: that there may be peace within the gates, and plenty within the palaces of it. In peace I beseech Thee so preserve it, that it corrupt not: in war so defend it, that it suffer not: in plenty so order it, that it riot not: in want so pacify and moderate it, that it may patiently and peaceably seek Thee, the only full supply both of men and states; that so it may continue a place and a people to do Thee service to the end of time, through Jesus Christ our only Saviour and Redeemer. Amen.

O Lord, according to all Thy righteousness, I beseech Thee let Thine anger be turned away from this city and Thy people; and cause Thy face to shine upon whatsoever is desolate therein, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Dan. ix. 16, 17.

PRO AFFLICTIS.

O let the sorrowful sighing of the prisoners come before Thee, and according to the greatness of Thy power preserve Thou them that are appointed to die, even for Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Ps. lxxix. 12. Alias the Sick, the Afflicted.

REGNUM ANGLIÆ.

Benedic, Domine Deus omnipotens, regnum hoc, ut sit in eo sanitas, castitas, victoria, virtus omnis, et gratiarum actio Deo Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto: et hæc benedictio maneat super hoc regnum, et super habitantes in eo, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

JEJUNIUM.

O Lord, the zeal of Thine house hath even eaten me up, and the rebukes of them which rebuked Thee are fallen upon me. Therefore I wept, and chastened myself with fasting, and that was turned to my reproof. I put on sackcloth also, and they jested upon me: they that sat in the gate also spake against me, and the drunkards made songs Ps. lxix. 9[—13.]

upon me. But, Lord, I make my prayer unto Thee, and I hope, in an acceptable time. O hear me in the multitude of Thy mercies, which are in Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

QUADRAGESIMA.

Dom. i. Quadrag. O Lord, which for our sake didst fast forty days and forty nights; give us grace to use such abstinence, that our flesh being subdued to the spirit, we may ever obey Thy godly motions, in righteousness and true holiness, to Thy honour and glory, who livest and reignest one God with the Father and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

ROGATIONES.

Domin. xxv. post Trin. Stir up, I beseech Thee, O Lord, thewills of Thy faithful people, that they plenteously bringing forth the fruit of good works, may of Thee be plenteously rewarded, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

JEJUNIA QUATUOR TEMPORUM.

Almighty God, the giver of all good gifts, who of Thy divine providence hast appointed divers Orders in the Church; give Thy grace, I humbly beseech Thee, to all those which are to be called to any office and administration in the same, and so replenish them with the truth of Thy doctrine, and innocence of life, that they may faithfully serve before Thee, to the glory of Thy great name, and the benefit of Thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

CONSECRATIONES. ORDINATIONES.

1 Tim. v. 22. O Lord, I am now at Thy altar, at Thy work; keep me that I lay not my hands suddenly upon any man, lest I be partaker of other men's sins; but that I may keep myself pure, in Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Lord, give me grace, that as oft as they shall come in my way, I may put them in remembrance whom I have ordained, that they stir up the gift of God that is in them by the putting on of my hands, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. 2 Tim. i. 6.

Grant, O Lord, I beseech Thee, that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by Thy governance, that Thy Church may joyfully serve Thee in all godly quietness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Dom. v. post Trin. Pro Ecclesia.

Lord, I beseech Thee, let Thy continual mercy cleanse and defend Thy Church. And because it cannot continue in safety without Thy succour, preserve it evermore by Thy help and goodness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Dom. xvi. post Trin.

Lord, I beseech Thee, keep Thy household the Church in continual godliness; that through Thy protection it may be free from all adversities, and devoutly given to serve Thee in good works, to the glory of Thy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Dom. xxii. post Trin.

EXILIUM.

Lord, send me not to the waters of Babylon, that I may have no cause to weep when I remember Sion: that no man's cruelty may lead me away captive, nor no man's scorn call upon me to sing in my heaviness. But that in my country where I learned to serve Thee, I may live to honour Thee all the days of my life, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Ps. cxxxvii. 1[—4.]

MARTYRIUM.

Lord, make me remember the bones of Thy saints, how they lie scattered before the pit, even as when one heweth wood upon the earth. O Lord, mine eyes look unto Thee, in Thee is my trust, O cast not out my soul. And if my bones also must be broken, O Lord, I beseech Thee give me courage and abundance of patience, that no torment may make my faith fall away from Thee, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Ps. cxli. 8, [9.]

EUCHARISTIA.

Prævia. Quæcunque ab infantia usque ad momentum hoc, sciens vel ignorans, intus vel extra, dormiens vel vigilans, verbis, factis vel cogitationibus, per jacula inimici ignita, per desideria cordis immunda peccavi Tibi, miserere mei, et dimitte mihi, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum[k]. Amen.

Almighty God and most merciful Father, give me, I beseech Thee, that grace, that I may daily examine the inmost of my heart, and my most secret thoughts, how I stand before Thee. Lord, I confess all my sins, and my unworthiness to present myself at Thine altar. But Thou canst forgive sin, and give repentance; do both, gracious Father, and then behold I am clean to come unto Thee. Lord, make me a worthy receiver of that for which I come, Christ, and remission of sin in Christ: and that for His own mercy's sake and Thine. Amen.

O Lord, into a clean, charitable, and thankful heart, give me grace to receive the blessed Body and Blood of Thy Son, my most blessed Saviour, that it may more perfectly cleanse me from all dregs of sin; that being made clean, it may nourish me in faith, hope, charity, and obedience, with all other fruits of spiritual life and growth in Thee; that in all the future course of my life, I may shew myself such an engrafted member into the Body of Thy Son, that I may never be drawn to do anything that may dishonour His name. Grant this, O Lord, I beseech Thee, even for His merit's and mercy's sake. Amen.

O Lord God, hear my prayers, I come to Thee in a steadfast faith: yet for the clearness of my faith, Lord, enlighten it; for the strength of my faith, Lord, increase it. And, behold, I quarrel not the words of Thy Son my Saviour's blessed Institution. I know His words are no gross unnatural conceit, but they are spirit and life, and supernatural. While the world disputes, I believe. He hath promised me, if I come worthily, that I shall receive His most precious Body and Blood, with all the benefits of His passion. If I can receive it and retain it, (Lord, make me able, make me worthy,) I know I can no more die eternally, than that Body

[k] [Conf. Lanc. Andrewes, Prec. Priv. p. 326.]

and Blood can die, and be shed again. My Saviour is willing in this tender of them both unto me: Lord, so wash and cleanse my soul, that I may now, and at all times else, come prepared by hearty prayers and devotion, and be made worthy by Thy grace of this infinite blessing, the pledge and earnest of eternal life, in the merits of the same Jesus Christ, who gave His body and blood for me. Amen.

Coll. pro Mundatione Cordis.

Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid; cleanse the thoughts of my heart by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit, that I may perfectly love Thee, and worthily magnify Thy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Litan. brevis.

Pater de cœlis Deus, qui unigenitum Tuum pro nobis ad mortem tradidisti.

Fili Redemptor mundi Deus, qui sanguine Tuo pretioso nos a peccatis abluisti.

Spiritus Sancte Paraclete Deus, qui corda sanctorum Tua gratia visitas et confirmas.

Sacra, summa, sempiterna, beata, benedicta Trinitas; Pater bone, Fili pie, Spiritus benigne: cujus opus vita, amor gratia, contemplatio gloria: cujus majestas ineffabilis, potestas incomparabilis, bonitas inæstimabilis: qui vivorum Dominus es simul et mortuorum: Te adoro, Te invoco, et toto cordis affectu nunc et in sæculum benedico. Amen.

O Domine Jesu, da vivis misericordiam et gratiam: da Tuis regimen et lucem perpetuam: da ecclesiæ tuæ veritatem et pacem; da mihi miserrimo peccatorum pœnitentiam et veniam. Amen.

O Domine, errantes, oro, corrige, incredulos converte, Ecclesiæ fidem auge, hæreses destrue, hostes versutos detege, violentos et impœnitentes contere, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen[l].

Misericors Pater, pro beneficiis, quæ mihi largiti sunt in terris benefactores mei, præmia æterna consequantur in cœlis[m]. Oro etiam, ut cum his pro quibus oravi, aut pro quibus orare teneor, et cum omni populo Dei, introduci mihi detur in regnum Tuum, et ibi apparere in justitia, et satiari gloria, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum[n]. Amen.

[l] [Conf. Lanc. Andrewes, Prec. Priv. p. 273.]

[m] [Ibid. pp. 274, 275.]

[n] [Ibid. p. 275.]

[Ps. cxlii. 7.] [Ps. lxxx. 4.] O Lord, consider my complaint, for I am brought very low. O Lord, how long wilt Thou be angry with Thy servant that prayeth? O Lord, give me grace and repentance, and Thou canst not be angry with my prayer. O Lord, I am Thine, save me, and deliver me not into the will of mine enemies, especially my ghostly enemies. O Lord, I am Thy servant, Thy unprofitable, wasteful servant, yet Thy servant [o]. O Lord, set my accounts right before Thee, and pardon all my misspendings and mis-reckonings. O Lord, I am Thy son, Thy most unkind, prodigal, run-away son, yet Thy son. O Lord, though I have not retained the love and duty of a son, yet do not Thou cast off (I humbly beg it) the kindness and compassion of a Father [p]. O Lord, in Thy grace I return to Thee; and though I have eaten draff with all the unclean swine in the world, in my hungry absence from Thee, yet now, Lord, upon my humble return to Thee, give me, I beseech Thee, the bread of life, the Body and Blood of my Saviour, into my soul, that I may be satisfied in Thee, and never more run away from Thee, even for Jesus Christ His sake, that gave Himself for me. Amen.

Coll. 3. in die Parasc. Misericors Deus, Creator omnium hominum, qui nihil odisti eorum quæ condidisti, nec vis mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut convertatur et vivat; misercre omnium Judæorum, Turcarum, Infidelium, et Hæreticorum. Aufer ab iis ignorantiam, duritiem cordis, et contemptum verbi Tui: et reduc eos, misericors Domine, ad gregem Tuum, ut serventur inter reliquias veri Israelis, ut fiat unum ovile, et unus Pastor, Jesus Christus Dominus noster, qui vivit et regnat, &c. Amen.

Dum altari adsto, si fieri possit. Si non tum mane, &c. Tanquam pro tribunali Tuo tremendo (ubi nullus erit personarum respectus) reum memet perägens, ita hodie antequam præveniat me dies judicii mei coram sancto Tuo altari prostratus, coram Te et stupendis angelis Tuis a propria conscientia dejectus, profero improbas et nefarias cogitationes et actiones meas. Respice, oro, Domine, humilitatem meam, et remitte omnia peccata mea, quæ multiplicata sunt super capillos capitis mei. Quodnam enim est malum, quod non designavi in anima mea: quin et multa et nefanda opere perpetravi. Reus enim sum, O Domine, invidiæ, gulæ, &c. Omnes sensus meos, omnia membra mea pollui. Sed incom-

[o] [See Bp. Andrewes' Manual for the Sick, p. 187.] [p] [Ibid. p. 188.]

parabilis est multitudo viscerum Tuorum, et ineffabilis misericordia bonitatis Tuæ, qua peccata mea toleras. Quare, O Rex omni admiratione major, O Domine longanimis, misericordias Tuas mirificato in me peccatore: potentiam benignitatis Tuæ manifestato, clementissimæ propensionis Tuæ virtutem exserito et me prodigum reverentem suscipito, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Immediate ante perceptionem Panis.

O Lord God, how I receive the Body and Blood of my most blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, the price of my redemption, is the very wonder of my soul, yet my most firm and constant belief upon the words of my Saviour. At this time they are graciously tendered to me and my faith: Lord, make me a worthy receiver, and be unto me as He hath said. Amen.

Immediate post receptionem utriusque speciei.

Lord, I have received this Sacrament of the Body and Blood of my dear Saviour. His mercy hath given it, and my faith received it into my soul. I humbly beseech Thee speak mercy and peace unto my conscience, and enrich me with all those graces which come from that precious Body and Blood, even till I be possessed of eternal life in Christ. Amen.

O qui sursum Patri assides et hic nobiscum invisibiliter versaris, venito et sanctificato præsentia hæc dona; eos item pro quibus, et eos per quos, et ea propter quæ offeruntur. Amen [q].

PRO DUCE BUCKINGHAMIÆ [r].

Gracious Father, I humbly beseech Thee, bless the Duke of Buckingham with all spiritual and temporal blessings, but especially spiritual. Make and continue him faithful to his prince, serviceable to his country, devout in Thy truth and Church; a most happy husband and a blessed father; filled with the constant love and honour of his Prince, that all Thy blessings may flow upon himself and his posterity after him. Continue him a true-hearted friend to me, Thy poor servant, whom Thou hast honoured in his eyes. Make my heart

[q] [Conf. Lanc. Andrewes, Prec. Priv. p. 240.]

[r] [George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, Laud's intimate friend and patron.]

religious and dutiful to Thee, and in and under Thee true, and secret, and stout, and provident in all things which he shall be pleased to commit unto me. Even so, Lord, and make him continually to serve Thee, that Thou mayest bless him, through Jesus Christ our only Lord and Saviour. Amen [s].

The Spanish Journey [t].

O most merciful God and gracious Father, the Prince hath put himself to a great adventure. I humbly beseech Thee make a clear way before him: give Thine angels charge over him, be with him Thyself in mercy, power, and protection; in every step of his journey; in every moment of his time; in every consultation and address for action; till Thou bring him back with safety, honour, and contentment, to do Thee service in this place.

Bless his most trusty and faithful servant, the Lord Duke of Buckingham, that he may be diligent in service, provident in business, wise and happy in counsels; for the honour of Thy Name, the good of Thy Church, the preservation of the Prince, the contentment of the King, the satisfaction of the State. Preserve him, I humbly beseech Thee, from all envy that attends him; and bless him, that his eyes may see the Prince safely delivered to the King and State, and after it live long in happiness to do them and Thee service, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Isle of Rhe. 1627 [u].

O most gracious God and merciful Father, Thou art the Lord of hosts; all victory over our enemies, all safety against them, is from Thee; I humbly beseech Thee go out with our armies, and bless them. Bless my dear Lord the Duke, that is gone Admiral with them, that wisdom may attend all his counsels, and courage and success all his enterprises; that by his and their means Thou wilt be pleased to bring safety

[s] [Prynne (Breviate, p. 13) remarks on this and the following prayers: "What a professed votary and creature this Bishop was to the D. of Buckingham, will appear by these his special prayers for him, written by his own hand, in his Book of private prayers and devotions, found in his chamber at the Tower . . . much used, as is evident by the fouling of the leaves with his fingers."]

[t] [Of Prince Charles and Buckingham, in 1623, when the Spanish match was in contemplation. See several entries in the Diary relating to this secret expedition. Prynne observes, (Breviate, p. 14,) that this "voyage was purposely plotted to pervert him in his religion, and reconcile him to Rome, is apparent by this . . prayer."]

[u] [The fatal expedition to La Rochelle. See a detailed account in D'Israeli's Charles I. vol. ii. pp. 49, seq.]

to this Kingdom, strength and comfort to Religion, victory and reputation to our Country: and that he may return with our navy committed to him, and with safety, honour, and love both of Prince and people. Grant this for Thy dear Son's sake, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O merciful God, Thy judgments are often secret, always just. At this time they were temporally heavy upon the poor Duke of Buckingham, upon me, upon all that had the honour to be near him. Lord, Thou hast, I doubt not, given him rest, and light, and blessedness in Thee. Give also, I beseech Thee, comfort to his lady, bless his children, uphold his friends, forget not his servants. Lay open the bottom of all that irreligious and graceless plot that spilt his blood. Bless and preserve the King from danger, and from security in these dangerous times. And for myself, O Lord, though the sorrows of my heart are enlarged, in that Thou gavest this most honourable friend into my bosom, and hast taken him again from me, yet blessed be Thy Name, O Lord, Thou hast given me patience. I shall now see him no more till we meet at the Resurrection. O make that joyful to us, and all Thy faithful servants, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. His death, August 23d, 1628[x].

SENECTUS.

O Lord, cast me not off in the time of mine age, forsake me not now my strength begins to fail me. Amen. Ps. lxxi. 9.

Forsake me not, O God, in mine old age, now I am grey-headed, until I have declared Thy strength unto this generation, and Thy power to all them that are to come. Amen. Ver. 18.

O Lord, though Thou hast shortened the days of my youth, yet cover me not with dishonour. Hide not Thyself from me for ever, but remember how short my time is, and make me remember it, O Lord. Amen. Ps. lxxxix. 44[—46.]

[x] [Murdered by John Felton, at Portsmouth, on his way to take command of the second expedition to La Rochelle. See the Archbishop's Diary, Aug. 12, 23, 24, and Nov. 29, 1628. Prynne (Breviate, p. 14) states this prayer was "much daubed through frequent use with his fingers."]

Ps. xc. 12. O Lord, teach me to number my days, that I may apply my heart unto wisdom. Amen.

Ps. cii. 2. O Lord, hide not Thy face from me in the time of trouble;
Ver. 3. for my days are consumed away like smoke, and my bones
Ver. 11. are burnt up like a fire-brand. My days are gone like a
Ver. 23. shadow, and I am withered like grass. Thou, O Lord, hast brought down my strength in my journey, and shortened my
Ver. 24. days. But, O my God, take me not away but in the timeliness of my age, that I may continue to serve Thee, and be faithful in Thy service, till Thou remove me hence. Amen.

TENTATIONES.

1 Cor. x. 13. O Lord, as Thou art faithful, so suffer me not, I beseech Thee, to be tempted above that I am able; but give an issue with the temptation, that I may be able to bear it. Amen.

Omnipotens Deus, respice preces meas, et libera cor meum a malarum cogitationum tentationibus, ut Te miserante dignum esse possim Spiritus Sancti habitaculum, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Deus, qui diligentibus Te facis cuncta prodesse, da cordi meo inviolabilem charitatis Tuæ affectum et nulla unquam tentatione mutabilem, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Amen.

Misericors Deus, da mihi in fide Tua constantiam, et in charitate firmitatem, ut nullis tentationibus ab carum integritate possim divelli, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

CARCER.

Ps. cxlii. 9. O Lord, have mercy upon me, and bring my soul out of prison, that I may give thanks unto Thy Name, even in Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Ps. cxlvi. 4. 6, [7, 8.] O Lord, blessed is the man that hath Thee for his help, and whose hope is in Thee. O Lord, help me and all them

to right that suffer wrong. Thou art the Lord, which looseth men out of prison, which helpest them that are fallen. O Lord, help and deliver me, when and as it shall seem best to Thee, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

O Lord, Thine indignation lies hard upon me; and though Thou hast not (for Thy mercy is great) vexed me with all Thy storms, yet Thou hast put my acquaintance far from me, and I am so fast in prison that I cannot get forth. Lord, I call daily upon Thee, hear and have mercy, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen. Ps. lxxxviii. 6, 7, [8, 9.]

O Lord, Thou which bringest the prisoners out of captivity, while Thou lettest the runagates continue in scarceness, have mercy upon me, and deliver me out of the prison and affliction in which I now am; and give me grace, that being free, I may faithfully and freely serve Thee all the days of my life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Ps. lxviii. 6.

CONFESSIONES.

O Domine, in multis deliqui, et improbe egi, et tristitia affeci Spiritum Tuum Sanctum. Exacerbavi viscera clementiæ Tuæ, cogitatione, sermone, opere, noctu et interdiu, palam et in occulto, consulto et inconsulto. O si constituas peccata mea in conspectu meo; O si rationem a me exigas peccatorum in se non ignoscibilium, quæ scienter commisi, quid faciam? quo fugiam? Sed, O Domine, ne in furore Tuo arguas me, nec in ira Tua corripias me. Miserere mei, non solum quia infirmus sum, sed quia figmentum sum Tuum. Obsecro Te, ne intres in judicium cum servo Tuo: si enim iniquitates observaveris, Domine, Domine, quis in judicio consistet? Non ego certe, si quis alius. Ego enim sum peccati pelagus, et non sum dignus in cœlum suspicere præ multitudine peccatorum meorum, quorum non est numerus; probra, injuriæ, &c., et mille præterea nefandæ passiones sunt, a quibus non destiti. Quibus enim non corruptus sum peccatis? Quibus non sum constrictus malis? Inutilis factus sum Tibi Deo meo, et hominibus. Quis me in talia prolapsum suscitabit? In Te, Domine, confido, qui es Deus

meus: esto mihi Salvator secundum viscera compassionis Tuæ, et miserere mei secundum magnam misericordiam Tuam, et ne retribuas mihi secundum opera mea, sed converte Te ad me, me ad Te. Remitte omnia quæ in Te peccavi: serva me propter misericordiam Tuam, et ubi abundavit peccatum, superabundet gratia Tua; et laudabo et glorificabo Te per omnes dies vitæ meæ. Tu enim es Deus pœnitentium, et Salvator peccantium. Tibi gloria per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

ANNIVERSARIA.

April 11, 1594. Mors Patris. Dies erat Mercurii. Et Nov. 24, 1600. Mors Matris[y].

O eternal God and merciful Father, with whom do rest the souls of them that die in Thy faith and favour, have mercy upon me, and grant that my life may be a preparation to die, and my death an entrance to life with Thee. As upon this day, it pleased Thee to take my dear father to Thy mercy, when I was yet young. O Lord, he was Thy servant, Thy meek, humble, faithful servant; and I assure myself he is in rest, and light, and blessedness. Lord, while I am here behind in my pilgrimage, shower down Thy grace upon me. Thou hast been more than a father to me; Thou hast not suffered me to want a father; no, not when Thou hadst taken him from me. O be pleased to be a father still, and by Thy grace to keep me within the bounds of a son's obedience. Thou hast given me temporal blessings beyond desert or hope; O be graciously pleased to heap spiritual blessings on me, that I may grow in faith, obedience, and thankfulness to Thee; that I may make it my joy to perform duty to Thee. And after my painful life ended, bring me, I beseech Thee, to Thy joys, to Thy glory, to Thyself; that I and my parents, with all Thy saints and servants departed this life, may meet in a blessed glorious resurrection, ever to sing praises and honour to Thee, in and through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[y] [His father was a clothier in the parish of St. Lawrence, Reading; his mother, the widow of John Robinson, also a clothier, was Lucy Webbe, sister of Sir William Webbe, of Berkshire, a salter, and Lord Mayor of London in 1591.]

O Deus meus, respice servum Tuum, et miserere mei secundum viscera misericordiæ Tuæ. Scandalum ecce factus sum Nomini Tuo, dum ambitioni meæ et aliorum peccatis servio. Quin et hoc, licet aliorum suasu, oblatrante tamen conscientia perpetravi. Obsecro, Domine, per misericordias Jesu, ne intres in judicium cum servo Tuo, sed exaudi sanguinem Ejus pro me perorantem: nec hoc conjugium sit animæ meæ divortium a sinu Tuo. O quanto satius fuisset, si vel hujus diei satis memor, martyrium cum proto-martyre Tuo potius perpessus essem, negando quod urgebant, aut non satis fidi, aut non satis pii amici mei. Pollicitus sum mihi tenebras peccato huic, sed ecce statim evolavit, nec lux magis aperta, quam ego qui feci. Ita volùisti, Domine, præ nimia misericordia Tua implere ignominia faciem meam, ut discerem quærere Nomen Tuum. O Domine, quam gravis adhuc est memoria peccati hujus etiam hodie, etiam post tot et toties repetitas preces a tristi et confusa anima mea coram Te profusas. O Domine miserere, exaudi preces depressi et humiliati valde servi Tui. Parce, Domine, et remitte peccata, quæ peccatum hoc et induxerunt et sequuta sunt. Nam confiteor, Domine, iterum et eodem die revolventis anni, nec satis adhuc cautus, aut satis humilis factus in aliud grave peccatum incidi; lapidatus iterum non pro, sed a peccato. Nunc plene suscita me, Domine, ne moriar ultra in peccatis meis; sed des ut vivam, et vivens gaudeam in Te, per merita et miserationes Jesu Christi Salvatoris nostri. Amen.

Dec. 26, 1605. Dies erat Jovis, et Festum S. Stephani. Com. Devon.[x], et E. M. An. 1609.

O merciful God, Thou hast shewed me much mercy, and done great things for me; and as I was returning, instead of thankfulness, I wandered out of my way from Thee, into a foul and a strange path. There Thou madest me see both my folly and my weakness; Lord, make me ever see them, ever sorry for them. O Lord, for my Saviour's sake forgive me the folly, and strengthen me against the weakness for ever. Lord, forgive all my sins, and this; and make me by Thy

Julii 28, 1617. Die Lunæ, E. B.[a] Et Martii 6, 1641-2[b].

[x] [It is thus noticed in the Diary: "My Cross about the Earl of Devon's marriage, Dec. 26, 1605."

This marriage was celebrated between Charles, Lord Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire, and Penelope, daughter of Walter, Earl of Essex; who had been divorced from her husband, Robert, Lord Rich, for adultery with himself. The Earl persuaded his Chaplain, then Dr. Laud, to marry them at Wanstead, on St. Stephen's day, 1605.]

[a] [The entry in the Diary is, ... "Cum E. B. July 28, 1617. primo."]

[b] [See below, note [c].]

grace Thy most true, humble, and faithful servant all the days of my life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Sept. 26, 1617. Die Veneris. Ignis et periculum inde[c].

O misericors Pater, quo me vertam? Qui et exeundo et revertendo peccavi contra Te. Abii cum prodigo prodigus in longinquam regionem. Dissipavi substantiam meam, Tuam luxuriose. Ibi primum sensi omnia consumpta, et me dignum non meliori quam porcorum consortio: nec tamen aut vita illa immunda, aut fames gratiæ, de reditu ad meliorem frugem vel cogitare fecit. Reversum jam ab itinere infausto ecce judicia Tua, Domine, insequuntur me. Ignis corripit tecta sub quibus sum; vidit enim Deus, nec multum distulit, sed ignis accensus est in Jacob, et ira ascendit in Israel. Et scelera (non dubito) mea conflagrationem collegio minitabantur, et mihi. Nam dum igni exstinguendo intentior sum, parum abfuit, quin ab igne extinguerer. Quam ecce misericordia Tua, Domine, vix sine miraculo me flammis eripuit. Nam dum amica manus astantis me vi quadam amovit, eodem instanti ex eodem loco, ubi pedem figere decrevi, prorupit inclusus ignis, in flammas subsidunt gradus, et ego, si ibi invenisset incendium, una periissem. O peccata mea nunquam satis deflenda! O misericordia Tua, Domine, nunquam satis prædicanda! O pœnitentia nunquam mihi magis necessaria! O gratia Tua, Domine, humillime et jugiter imploranda! Surgo, O Domine Pater, et ecce venio; lento quidem et instabili gressu, sed venio, et confiteor: peccavi enim in cœlum et contra Te, nec dignus sum vocari filius Tuus. Sim, O Domine, quid vis, modo Tuus. Ablue peccata mea in sanguine Filii Tui, ut sim Tuus. Et concede, obsecro, ut sicut tum terror, ita quotidie memoria ignis hujus exurat fæces omnes et reliquias peccatorum meorum: ut me cautiorem factum melior ignis charitatis et devotionis in amorem Tui et in odium peccati accendat, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Feb. 5, 1628, die Martis computo Juliano Fendonem

O Domine misericors, glorificetur beatissimum nomen Tuum: ecce enim ego, dum pro officio regem sequor, et Tui, et humanorum casuum immemor, et mihi præfidens, infausto in via saltu in terram infidam incidi, et tendonem fregi[d].

[c] ["St. John's College on fire under the staircase in the Chaplain's Chamber, by the library, Sept. 26, 1617."]

[d] ["*Feb.* 5. (1627-8.) *Tuesday.* The straining of the back sinew of my right leg, as I went with His Majesty

Levatus in currum, Hamptoniam perveni. Cruciatus talis fuit, qualem nervi sentire solent. Et certe in febrem ferventiorem ipse angor conjecisset, nisi ingens defluxus sanguinis me ab illo metu liberasset. Magna infirmitate laboravi, et fere per biennium claudus incessi. Infirmitatem aliquam adhuc sentio, sed, gratiæ immortales Tibi, O beatissima Trinitas, usum satis perfectum crurium dedisti mihi, et confirmasti, præter omnium exspectationem, gressus meos. Dirigas nunc eos, O Domine, in viis mandatorum Tuorum, ut nunquam vel inter Te et falsum cultum, vel inter Te et mundum claudicem; sed recta pergam, et viam testimoniorum Tuorum curram, quum dilatasti cor meum. Oro itaque, ne differas vel dilatationem cordis, vel confirmationem pedum in semitis justificationum Tuarum, per et propter Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Regi, et iter. Mar. 6, die Solis inter ambulandum in cubiculo in Turri London. Anno 1641-2[e].

O eternal God, and my most merciful Father, as this day the fury of the enraged multitude was fierce upon me and my house, to destroy me and to pillage it, it pleased Thee in mercy to preserve both, and bring some of them to shame and punishment. I have sinned many ways against Thee, O Lord, and this was a loud call of Thine, and a merciful, to bring me to repentance, which I beseech Thee give me grace to hear and obey. But what I have done to hurt or offend them, that should stir up this rage against me, I know not. Lord, in Thy mercy look down upon me; fill my heart with thankfulness for this great deliverance, and suffer me not to forget it, or the examination which I took of myself upon it. And as for them and their like, let them not have their desire, O Lord, let not their mischievous imaginations prosper against me, nor their fury lay hold upon me; lest they be too proud, and lest I end my weary days in misery. Yet forgive them, O Lord, for they know not why they did

Maii 11, 1640. My house at Lambeth beset with violent and base people[f].

to Hampton Court. I kept in till I preached at the opening of Parliament, but I continued lame long after."]

[e] ["*March* 6, *Sunday*. After Sermon, as I was walking up and down my chamber, before dinner, without any slip or treading awry, the sinew of my right leg gave a great crack, and brake asunder in the same place where I had broken it before, Feb. 5, 1627-8."]

[f] ["*May* 11. *Monday night*. At midnight my house at Lambeth was beset with 500 of these rascal routers. I had notice, and strengthened the house as well as I could; and God be thanked, I had no harm: they continued there full two hours. Since, I have fortified my house as well as I can; and hope all may be safe. But yet libels are continually set up in all places of note in the city.

"My deliverance was great: God make me thankful for it."—*Diary in an.* 1640.]

it. And according to Thy wonted mercy preserve me to serve Thee, and let the same watchful protection which now defended me, guard me through the remainder of my life; and this for Thine own goodness' sake, and the merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Dec. 18, 1640. I was accused by the House of Commons of High Treason[g].

O eternal God and merciful Father, I humbly beseech Thee look down upon me in this time of my great and grievous affliction. Lord, if it be Thy blessed will, make mine innocency appear, and free both me and my profession from all scandal thus raised on me. And howsoever, if Thou be pleased to try me to the uttermost, I humbly beseech Thee, give me full patience, proportionable comfort, contentment with whatsoever Thou sendest, and an heart ready to die for Thy honour, the King's happiness, and this Church's preservation. And my zeal to these is all the sin (human frailty excepted) which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I thus suffer. Lord, look upon me in mercy, and for the merits of Jesus Christ pardon all my sins many and great, which have drawn down this judgment upon me, and then in all things do with me as seems best in Thine own eyes; and make me not only patient under, but thankful for whatsoever Thou dost, O Lord, my strength and my Redeemer. Amen.

October 24, 1643. I received additional articles and summons to my trial.

O eternal God and merciful Father, after long imprisonment I am now at last called to answer; I most humbly beseech Thee to strengthen me through this trial, to preserve the patience with which Thou hast hitherto blessed me through this affliction. Suffer no coarse language, or other provocation, to make me speak or do anything that may misbecome my person, mine age, my calling, or my present

[g] ["*Dec.* 18. *Friday.* I was accused by the House of Commons for High Treason, without any particular charge laid against me; which they said should be prepared in convenient time. Mr. Denzell Hollys was the man that brought up the message to the Lords. Soon after, the charge was brought into the Upper House by the Scottish Commissioners, tending to prove me an *Incendiary*. I was presently committed to the Gentleman Usher; but was permitted to go in his company to my house at Lambeth, for a book or two to read in, and such papers as pertained to my defence against the Scots. I stayed at Lambeth till the evening, to avoid the gazing of the people. I went to Evening Prayer in my chapel. The Psalms of the day, Psal. xciii. and xciv., and chap. l. of Esai, gave me great comfort. God make me worthy of it, and fit to receive it.

"As I went to my barge, hundreds of my poor neighbours stood there, and prayed for my safety, and return to my house. For which I bless God and them."—*Diary, in an.* 1640.]

condition. And, Lord, I beseech Thee, make me able to clear to the world that innocency which is in my heart concerning this charge laid against me. Grant this, O Lord, for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

O merciful Lord, I have had a long and a tedious trial; and I give Thee humble and hearty thanks for the wonderful strength that I have received from Thee in the bearing up of my weakness. Lord, continue all Thy mercies towards me, for the storm gathers and grows black upon me, and what it threatens is best known to Thee. After a long trial I am called to answer in the House of Commons, and that not to evidence, but to one single man's report of evidence, and that made without oath. What this may produce in present or in future, Thou knowest also. O Lord, furnish me with patience and true Christian wisdom and courage, to bear up against this drift, and send not out Thy storms to beat upon me also; but look comfortably upon me to my end, in and through the merits of Jesus Christ, my Lord and only Saviour. Amen.

Nov. 1, 1644. I received summons to appear in the House of Commons next morning[h].

[h] [These last two prayers must have been written by the Archbishop during the time that he was deprived of his Book of Prayers, (as stated on the next page,) and afterwards inserted in this place, either by Laud for his own use, or by the original Editor; but as the MS. is lost, this latter point cannot be ascertained.]

PRAYERS added since the restoring of this book to me, which was taken from me in a search made by Mr. Prinne, May 31, 1643; and with much difficulty restored unto me Nov. 6, 1644.

August. Ser. 193. de Temp.[a] O DOMINE, ad adventum Tuum secundum paratus sim, ne talem me non invenias, qualem voluisti invenire, qui omnia pro me passus es, ut invenires talem, cui non supplicia inferres, sed præmia redderes sempiterna. Amen.

Ibidem. Ser. 198[b]. O Domine, cum Christi adjutorio sic agere studeam, ut Te tam pium Dominum, non solum hospitem recipere possim, sed etiam perpetuum habitatorem habeam, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Ibidem. Ser. 202[c]. O æterne Deus, auxilium Tuum imploro, ut veram discretionem, et perfectam charitatem præstare mihi pro Tua pietate digneris, cui est gloria et imperium cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Ibidem. Ser. 204[d]. O Domine misericors, qui tanta mihi beneficia concessisti, des insuper mihi cum omni humilitate fidem rectam tenere, charitatem integram cum omnibus hominibus conservare, mundo corde et casto corpore Tibi Domino meo servire, usque ad finem vitæ serio laborem, ut post labores desiderabilem illam vocem audire possim; Euge serve bone, intra in gaudium Domini tui. Amen.

MEDITATIONES PRÆPARANTES AD MORTEM.

O Lord, quicken and comfort my soul, for I have sinned against Thee. Lord, I call to mind all the years of my life

[a] [Al. Serm. ccxxxviii. in Append. Op., tom. v. col. 2968. A.B.]

[b] [Al. Serm. xxxviii. in Append. Op., tom. v. col. 2414. A.B.]

[c] [Al. Serm. lxvi. in Append. Op., tom. v. coll. 2491. D. 2492. A.]

[d] [Al. Serm. xli. in Append. Op., tom. v. col. 2422. B.C.]

past in the bitterness of my soul for my sin. My misdeeds have prevailed against me, O be Thou merciful unto my sin; O for Thy Name's sake be merciful unto my sin, for it is great. Amen.

Namely and especially, O Lord, be merciful unto me, &c.

Herein, O Lord, be merciful unto Thy servant. O Lord, lay not these, nor the rest, unto my charge.

O let the depth of my sin call upon the depth of Thy mercies, of Thy grace. Lord, let it come, that where my sin hath abounded, grace may superabound.

Lord, I believe, help Thou my unbelief.

O Lord, though Thou kill me, yet will I put my trust in Thee.

Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, yet will I fear no evil: for I hope verily to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living.

O let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, if it may not pass from me, but that I must drink of it, Thy will be done.

Thou art the Lord, do what seemeth good in Thine own eyes.

For I will take it as the cup of salvation, and give thanks to Thy Name, O Lord.

O Lord, grant that all the days of my appointed time upon earth I may wait, when my changing shall come.

O that Thou wouldst hide me in the grave, and keep me secret until Thy wrath be past, and appoint me a time in which Thou wilt remember me!

Say unto my soul, O say it now, I am Thy Salvation.

Command my spirit, whenever Thou wilt command it, to be received up to Thee in peace.

O bid me come unto Thee: say unto me, This day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise.

Lord, thus, and now, let Thy servant depart in peace, that mine eyes may see Thy salvation[e].

O Lord, Thou blessed Trinity, three Persons and one God, have mercy upon me.

I commend myself into Thy hands as to a faithful Creator.

[e] [Compare Andrewes' Manual for the Sick. Engl. Works, vol. vii. pp. 208, 209.]

Lord, receive Thine own creature, not made by any strange god, but by Thee, the only living and true God.

Ps. cxxxviii. 8. Despise not, O Lord, the work of Thine own hands.

Gen. ii. I am created to Thine own image and likeness; O suffer

Eph. vi. 24. not Thine own image to be defaced, but renew it again in righteousness and true holiness.

I commend myself into Thy hands, as to a most gracious Redeemer; for Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of Truth.

O Lord, I am the price of Thy blood, of Thy most precious blood; O suffer not so great, so invaluable a price to perish.

O Lord, Thou camest down from heaven to redeem that which was lost; suffer not that to be lost which Thou hast redeemed.

I commend myself into Thy hands, as to my most blessed Comforter.

O Lord, I am weary and heavy laden, and I come to Thee to be refreshed by Thee. Behold, O Lord, I have been the temple of Thy Holy Spirit; I have, I confess, strangely polluted it; yet destroy me not, but dedicate me anew, and sanctify me to Thyself yet once again.

Dan. ix. 19. O Lord, I wear Thy Name; 'tis Thy Name that is called upon me. For Thy Name's sake, therefore, be merciful unto me. O spare, Lord, if not me, yet Thine own Name in me. And do not so remember my sin, O Lord do not, as that

Neh. i. 11. in remembering it, Thou forget Thine own Name. I have desired to fear Thy Name, to love and to honour Thy Name. And I now desire to depart this life in the invocation and confession of Thy Name. Lord, I confess it, and call upon it, O come, Lord Jesu. Amen[f].

Peccavi, O Domine!

1. Sed non negavi Te: O nunquam prævaleat Inimicus ut negem.

2. Sed credo; O Domine, adauge fidem, et non confundar in æternum.

3. Sed spero; et quæ spes mea nisi Tu solus? suscipe me secundum eloquium Tuum, et non confundar ab exspectatione mea.

[f] [Compare Andrewes' Manual for the Sick. Engl. Works, vol. vii. pp. 188, 189.]

Sed præparavi et direxi cor meum ad Te quærendum: et etiamsi non secundum munditiem sanctuarii, tamen linum fumigans et quassam arundinem nec exstinguas nec frangas, O Domine Jesu. 4.

Sed patienter sustineo castigationem Tuam, et taceo quia Tu fecisti. 5.

Sed remitto debitoribus meis, et Tu pollicitus es remissionem remittenti. 6.

Sed projicio me in Te; ne Te subtrahas, et venientem ad Te ne ejicias foras. 7.

Sed in nominis Tui confessione et invocatione opto decedere. 8.

Quare non propter me, O Domine Jesu, aut quicquam mei, sed propter Temetipsum, propter Nomen Tuum, propter gloriam Nominis Tui, et veritatem Tuam, propter misericordias Tuas multas, magnas, mirificas, propter Christum Mediatorem, et Spiritum Paracletum, suscipe reversum ad se, et revertentem ad Te. Amen[8].

Et ideo, O Domine Deus meus!
Inter Te et me,
Christum Sacerdotem, Agnum, Sacrificium;
Inter Satanam et me,
Christum Regem, Leonem, Triumphum;
Inter peccatum et me,
Christi innocentiam in vita;
Inter pœnam peccatorum et me,
Christi satisfactionem, passionem, sanguinem;
Inter defectum justitiæ et me,
Christi justitiam, obedientiam absolutam;
Inter defectum ad præmium et me,
Christi meritum;
Inter defectum doloris pro peccatis, et me,
Christi lacrymas, et sudorem;
Inter defectum fervoris in orando et me,
Christi intercessionem;
Inter accusationem Satanæ vel propriæ conscientiæ, et me,

[8] [Conf. ibid. pp. 189, 190.]

Christum Advocatum;

Inter concupiscentiam et me,

Christi charitatem ostendo, offero, commemoro. Acceptum habe, Domine, propter Christum Ipsum. Amen[h].

Peccavi, O Domine!

Sed non abscondo peccatum.

Sed non excuso.

Sed ultro fateor.

Sed recogito in amaritudine animæ.

Sed meipsum propter peccata in Te odi: des gratiam, ut judicem et vindicem; ut non sine venia exeam e vita hac mihi miserrima. Amen.

Ps. lxxviii. 40. O Lord, I have not only sinned, but provoked Thee with many and grievous sins; yet, I beseech Thee, remember that I am but flesh, even a wind that passeth, and cometh not again.

Et plus potest ad salutem misericordia Servatoris, quam ad perniciem nequitia mei peccatoris. Amen.

S. August. t. iii. in S. Joan.[i] O Domine Jesu, non habebas Tu quare morereris, et mortuus es pro me: ego habeo quare des gratiam, ne dedigner mori, et paratus sim. Amen.

O Domine Jesu, propter illam amaritudinem quam pro me miserrimo sustinuisti in cruce; maxime in illa hora, quando nobilissima anima Tua egressa est de benedicto corpore Tuo, deprecor Te, miserere animæ meæ in egressu suo, et perduc eam in vitam æternam. Amen.

PRO INFIRMIS.

Deus, sub cujus nutibus vitæ nostræ momenta decurrunt, suscipe, quæso, preces meas pro ægrotantibus famulis Tuis, pro quibus humillime misericordiæ Tuæ auxilium imploro. Ut reddita sibi sanitate, gratiarum Tibi in Ecclesia Tua referant actiones, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Amen.

[h] [Compare Andrewes' Manual for the Sick. Engl. Works, vol. vii. pp. 190, 191.]

[i] [§ 13. Op., tom. iii. col. 1706. B.C.]

VISITATIO INFIRMI.

Existimasne?

Nullum morbum aut crucem casu evenire cuiquam, vel temere, 1.

Quin immitti a Deo, citra cujus providentiam neminem morbo laborare? 2.

Deum autem sapientissimum, ut nihil unquam permittat contingere, nisi quum expedit? 3.

Expedire itaque tibi morbum hunc vel crucem, quem vel quam tibi nunc immisit Deus. 4.

Porro Deum paterno erga nos animo esse. Patrem autem, sive indulgeat sive castiget, æque Patrem esse: nec minore, et forsan majore, hoc quam illud amore facere. 5.

Bona tibi diu dedisse, nunc mala dare; sed nec mala hæc, nisi ut majoris boni causa sint, nempe ut redeas ad Illum. 6.

Gratiæ esse hoc, quod toties a te repulsus, tamen nec sic deserat; quin visitet te denuo, et requirat te. 7.

Si sic; subdes hac in re Divinæ voluntati voluntatem tuam, sacrificium omnium (post Christi) Deo gratissimum[k].

Confiterisne?

Non tam bene vixisse te quam oportuit? imo vixisse te male, sæpeque et graviter peccasse? 1.

Estne peccatum aliquod præter vel supra cætera? vel suntne peccata aliqua, quæ gravent conscientiam tuam, ut peculiaris absolutionis beneficio tibi sit opus? 2.

Estne scrupulus aliquis circa ea quæ sunt fidei, vel religionis? 3.

Recogitasne annos elapsos vitæ tuæ in amaritudine animæ tuæ? 4.

Cuperesne majorem pro iis amaritudinem sentire, quam sentis? et gauderesne, si sentires? et doletne, quod majorem non sentias? 5.

Petisne illuminari de iis quæ ignoras, vel oblitus es, ut de iis pœnitere possis? et pœnitetne id etiam quod vel ignoras, vel oblitus es? 6.

[k] [Compare Andrewes' Manual for the Sick. Engl. Works, vol. vii. p. 181.]

7. Estne propositum, si vixeris, judicandi te, et vindicandi in teipsum quod deliquisti?
8. Estne propositum, si vixeris, emendandi vitam, et devitandi tum media, tum signa eorum, quæ hactenus peccasti?
9. Hoccine sancte promittis?
10. An petis de hoc promisso admoneri te libere[1]?

Credisne?

1. Quæ in Symbolo sunt fidei Christianæ semel sanctis traditæ?
2. Te servari non posse, nisi ea credas?
3. Lætarisne et gratias agis Deo, quod in hac fide natus es, vixisti, et jam morieris in ea?
4. Petisne ipse, et visne nos tuo nomine a Deo supplices petere, ne deficiat in te fides hæc ad ipsum, atque adeo ne in ipso mortis articulo?
5. Petisne etiam, ut fructus fidei hujus, et præcipue mortis Jesu Christi, utcunque in vita tua periit, tamen ne pereat in morte?
6. Si te sensus defecerit, aut dolor seu debilitas eousque pertulerit, ut quædam tibi excidant contra religionem, seu præcepta ejus, visne haberi pro non dictis? et renunciasne iis tanquam non tuis[m]?

Remittisne?

1. Illis, qui te quocunque modo læserint, sicut tibi vis remitti?
2. Petisne a Deo, ut Ipse quoque illis remittat?
3. Remittisne illis satisfactionem ad quam tenentur ratione illorum, quibus te verbo vel facto læserunt?
4. Visne hoc illis, qui in te peccarunt, tuo nomine significari; te illis quantum in te est noxas omnes remisisse?
5. Remissurusne esses, si graviora et plura in te deliquissent?
6. Gauderesne, si plures jam haberes quibus remittere possis, quo inde uberius tibi remissio peccatorum tuorum a Deo impertiri possit[n]?

1. Tu ipse si quos læsisti, petisne ab iis veniam, ut et tibi remittant?

[1] [Compare Andrewes' Manual for the Sick. Engl. Works, vol. vii. pp. 184, 185.]

[m] [Ibid. p. 185.]

[n] [Ibid. p. 186.]

Ecquos imprimis commeministi, et vis significari illis hoc tuo nomine? 2.

Quum remissio nulla sperari potest peccatorum contra octavum vel nonum præceptum Legis Divinæ, nisi fiat restitutio; paratusne es restituere illis rem, quibus in re familiari, et illis famam, quibus in fama detraxisti; idque sine dolo, et dilatione? 3.

Recordarisne qui tandem sint[o]. 4.

SYMBOLUM APOSTOLICUM.

Credo, Domine, (Tu meæ incredulitati subvenito,) esse Te Unum Deum, Patrem, Filium, Spiritum Sanctum.

Pro summa Tua benignitate et potentia, creasse cœlos et terram.

Pro immensa charitate omnia in Christo recapitulasse.

Qui caro factus et conceptus est. Natus. Passus. Crucifixus. Mortuus. Sepultus. Descendit. Resurrexit. Ascendit. Assedit. Revertetur. Retribuet.

Virtute et operatione Spiritus Sancti, ex universo vocasse Ecclesiam ad sanctitatem.

In ea nos consequi bonorum participationem, et peccatorum remissionem.

In ea nos exspectare carnis resurrectionem, vitam æternam[p].

Credo, Domine, (O supple defectus fidei meæ!)

Patris benevolum affectum.

Omnipotentis potentiam salutarem.

Creatoris providentiam in custodia, gubernatione, consummatione mundi.

Credo magnum pietatis mysterium, propter nos homines, pro nostra salute Deum in carne revelatum, Filium Patris, Unctum Spiritus, Dominum Jesum.

Conceptum esse, et natum; ad purgandam impuritatem conceptionis et nativitatis nostræ.

Passum esse; quæ nos oportuit, (inexplicabilia) ne nos oporteret.

[o] [Conf. ibid. pp. 186, 187.] [p] [Conf. Andrewes, Prec. Priv. pp. 44. 46.]

Crucifixum, mortuum, et sepultum; ne hæc pro eo timeamus subire.

Descendisse; quo nos oportuit, et ne nos omnino.

Resurrexisse, ascendisse, consedisse; ubi nihil nobis, et ut nos quoque.

Adventurum Judicem mundi, ut nos assumat.

Credo Eum esse,

In conceptione et generatione, naturæ purgatorem;

In passione crucis, mortis sepulturæ, redemptorem personæ;

In descensu, triumphatorem inferni et mortis;

In resurrectione, primitias dormientium;

In ascensione, præcursorem;

In sessione, paracletum sive advocatum;

In secundo adventu et judicio, consummatorem fidei[q].

Sic loco

Abaddon,	Jesum intueor.
Satanæ,	Mediatorem.
Diaboli,	Paracletum.
Delatoris,	Intercessorem.
Captivantis,	Redemptorem.
Aculei,	Christum[r].

Credo autem et Spiritus vim vivificam, sanctificantem,

Invisibiliter, extra, efficaciter, tanquam ventus,

In increpatione, compunctione, doctrina, commonefactione, advocatione, consolatione, attestatione, diffusione charitatis, illuminatione cognitionis.

Credo præterea Spiritus Sancti corpus mysticum vocatorum ex universo mundo, ad fidem veritatis et sanctitatem vitæ;

Membrorum vero corporis reciprocam participationem;

Præterea remissionem peccatorum in præsenti, spem vero resurrectionis et translationis ad vitam æternam[s].

Domine, adde mihi fidem; non fidem quæ legem annihilet;

Sed fidem { per charitatem operantem, / operibus efficacem, / vincentem mundum;

[q] [Conf. Andrewes, Preces Priv. pp. 112. 114. 340.]

[r] [Ibid. p. 341.]

[s] [Ibid. p. 342.]

Sanctissimam denique, ut Te amem ut Patrem, vereor ut Omnipotentem;

Ut fideli Creatori animam in beneficentia committam;

Ut in me Christus formetur; ego vero conformer imagini Ejus;

Ut pro iis, quæ pro me passus est, agam gratias; Ipsi compatiar: pro Ipso patiar, quodcunque Ipsi visum fuerit;

Ut pro Ejus cruce, morte, sepultura ulciscar, crucifigam, interimam, sepeliam, quod istis causam præbuit, peccatum;

Ut pro descensu ad inferos, vivus frequenti meditatione descendam in infernum;

Ut conformer resurrectioni Ejus, in novitatem vitæ resurgens;

Ascensioni vero, quæ sunt supra meditans, et quærens;

Ut et consessus sim memor, quoties dono aliquo cœlestis consolationis egeo; et quoties in invocatione frigeo;

Adventus autem, et judicii nunquam obliviscar;

Tubæ resonantis sonum semper audiam, et semper orem, donec ad dextram constitutus sim. Amen[t].

CONSCIENTIÆ QUOTIDIANUM EXAMEN.

O anima mea!

An egisti Deo pro acceptis beneficiis gratias? 1.

An petiisti gratiam a Deo pro cognitione et expulsione peccatorum? 2.

An exegisti a te ipsa rationem de admissis præsenti die peccatis, cogitatione, verbo, opere, per singulas horas ex quo evigilasti? 3.

An expetiisti veniam de delictis? An proposuisti cum Dei gratia emendationem? 4.

Benedicta sit sancta et individua Trinitas nunc et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

[t] [Conf. Andrewes, Prec. Priv. p. 341.]

ITINERARIUM.

O Domine, stellam ducem non sum meritus, tribue tamen, quæso, mihi iter prosperum, tempus tranquillum, reditum felicem. Ut, angelo Tuo sancto comite et custode, ad eum quo pergo locum, deinde ad domum propriam, et demum ad æternæ salutis portum, pervenire feliciter valeam, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen [u].

Adesto, quæso, Domine, et me famulum Tuum custodi; esto mihi in lubrico baculus, in naufragio portus. Ut, Te duce, quo tendo prospere perveniam, et demum incolumis ad propria redeam, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen [x].

Exaudi, Domine, supplicationes meas, et viam famuli Tui dispone: ut inter omnes vitæ et viæ hujus varietates, Tuo semper protegar auxilio, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen [y].

O Domine, salvum me fac servum Tuum sperantem in Te. Mitte mihi auxilium de Sancto, et de Sion tuere me. Esto mihi turris fortitudinis a facie Inimici. Nihil proficiat Inimicus in me, et filius iniquitatis non opponat nocere mihi. O prosperum iter faciat mihi Deus salutarium nostrorum. Domine, exaudi orationem meam, et clamor meus ad Te veniat, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen [z].

AT THE LAYING OF THE FIRST STONE OF A CHAPEL.

Hammersmith Chapel, March 11, 1629.

O Lord, merciful and gracious, this Thy people are preparing to build a place for Thy service: accept, I humbly beseech Thee, their present devotion, and make them perfect both in their present and future duty; that while Thou givest them ease to honour Thee, they may with the greater alacrity go on in Thy service. And now, O Lord, I have by Thy mercy and goodness put to my hand to lay the first stone in this building; 'tis a corner-stone, make it, I beseech

[u] [Vide Itinerarium apud Brev. Rom.]
[x] [Ibid.]
[y] [Liturg. Angl. e Miss. Sarisb.]
[z] [Vide Itinerarium apud Brev. Rom.]

Thee, a happy foundation, a durable building. Let it rise up, and be made, and continue, a house of prayer and devotion through all ages; that Thy people may here be taught to believe in Jesus Christ, the true Corner-stone, upon whom they and their souls may be built safe for ever. Grant this for the merit of the same Jesus Christ, our most blessed Lord and Saviour; to Whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be ascribed all power, majesty, and dominion, this day and for ever. Amen[s].

[s] [See Prynne's Remarks on this Prayer, Cant. Doom, p. 125.]

PRAYERS

UPON SUNDRY PUBLIC OCCASIONS.

For the High Court of Parliament, 1625. Tempore Jejunii ob Pestem gravissimam [a].

MOST gracious God, we humbly beseech Thee, as for this kingdom in general, so especially for the High Court of Parliament, under our most religious and gracious King at this time assembled; that Thou wouldest be pleased to bless and direct all their consultations, to the preservation of Thy glory, the good of Thy Church, the safety, honour, and welfare of our Sovereign and his kingdoms. Lord, look upon the humility and devotion with which they are come into Thy courts. And they are come into Thy house in assured confidence upon the merits and mercies of Christ, our blessed Saviour, that Thou wilt not deny them the grace and favour which they beg of Thee. Therefore, O Lord, bless them with that wisdom which Thou knowest necessary to speed and bring great designs into action, and to make the maturity of his Majesty's and their counsels the happiness and the blessing of this commonwealth. These, and all other necessaries, for them, for us, and Thy whole Church, we humbly beg in the name and mediation of Jesus Christ, our most blessed Lord and Saviour. Amen.

For the Navy, 1625 [b].

O eternal God, and our most gracious Father, Thou art the Lord of Hosts, and the strength of all nations is from Thee; if Thou keepest not the city, the watchman waketh

[a] [This Prayer occurs at the beginning of the 'Form of Common Prayer, together with an Order of Fasting, &c. London, 1625,' in the preparing of which Archbishop Laud (then Bishop of London), Bishop Andrewes, and others, had a part. See Diary, June 24, and Jan. 18, 1625.]

[b] [Directed to be used in the same Form of Prayer, after the Prayer for the King's Majesty in the Communion Service. It was in this year that an expedition was sent out under the Duke of Buckingham to Cadiz.]

but in vain; and no victory can wait upon the justest designs, upon the wisest counsels, upon the strongest armies, if Thou teach not their hands to war, and their fingers to fight. Thou art the steady hope of all the ends of the earth, and of them which go and remain in the broad sea. Lord, at this time we need Thy more special assistance both by land and sea; and for the mercy of Christ deny us neither. Be with our armies, and the armies of our allies and associates by land; be with our navy at sea. Be not from the one, nor from the other, in power and in great mercy, until Thou hast brought them back with honour and a settled peace. Lord, turn our enemies' sword into their own bosom; for we sought peace and ensued it, and while we did so, they did more than make themselves ready to battle. We are Thy servants, truly and heartily sorry for our sins. Lord, forgive them, and then we will trust upon Thee, that Thou wilt pour down all Thy blessings upon this and all other designs and actions of this State, undertaken for Thy glory, the honour of our most gracious King Charles, and the peace and welfare of this Church and commonwealth. Grant this, we humbly beseech Thee, for Jesus Christ His sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

In Time of Pestilence and unseasonable Weather. 1625 c.

Most gracious God, we humbly beseech Thee pardon and forgive all our many, great, and grievous transgressions. We may not hope Thou wilt take off Thy punishments, until Thou hast forgiven our sins: we may not think Thou wilt forgive our sins, until our humiliation and repentance come to ask forgiveness. We have been too slow to come, and now Thou hast apparelled Thy mercy in justice, to force us to Thee. Lord, we believe; but do Thou increase our faith, our devotion, our repentance, and all Christian virtues in us. At this time the vials of Thy heavy displeasure drop down upon us, and while we smart under one judgment, Thou threatenest

[c] [In the same Form of Prayer, after the Prayer for the Church Militant. Compare the following extracts from Diary:—

"Junii 16. Die Jovis. Rex et Regina Londinum venerunt. Salutaverunt aulam ad horam quintam. Dies erat tristior, et nubibus operta... Magnus e cœlo cecidit imber.

"Junii 18. Dies Sabbati erat. Initium dedit primo sub serenissimo R. Carolo parliamento, toties dilato. Interfuere dux de Shiveruz et alii nobiles Galliæ; Episcopus etiam, qui Reginæ inservivit. Metu pestilentiæ, quæ tum cœpit grassari, abstinuit Rex a pompa illius diei; ne populus in multitudinem confluceret."]

the rest. The pestilence spreads in our streets, and so as if it sought whom to devour. No strength is able to stand against it, and it threatens to make families, nay cities, desolate. While the pestilence eats up Thy people, we hear the sound of war, and the sword calleth for such as it would devour. In the meantime, the heavens are black over us, and the clouds drop leanness; and it will be famine, to swallow what the pestilence and the sword shall leave alive, unless Thou send more seasonable weather to give the fruits of the earth in their season. Our sins have deserved all this, and more, and we neither do nor can deny it. We have nowhither to go but to mercy: we have no way to that, but by the all-sufficient merit of Thy Son our blessed Saviour. Lord, for His merit and mercies' sake look down upon us Thy distressed servants; command Thine angel to stay his hand; and remember that in death we cannot praise Thee, nor give thanks in the pit. Go forth with our armies when they go, and make us remember that all our strength and deliverance is in Thee. Clear up the heavens over us, and take not from us the great plenty with which Thou hast crowned the earth: but remember us, O Thou that feedest the ravens when they call upon Thee. Lord, we need all Thy mercies to come upon us, and Thy mercies are altogether in Christ, in whom, and for whose sake, we beg them of Thee, who livest and reignest in the unity of the Spirit, one God, world without end. Amen.

In Danger of Enemies. 1626 [d].

O eternal God and most merciful Father, we humbly beseech Thee be merciful unto us, and be near to help us in all those extremities which our sins threaten to bring upon us. Our enemies are strengthened against us, by our multiplied rebellions against Thee. And we deserve to suffer whatever our enemies threaten. But there is mercy with Thee, that Thou mayest be feared. O Lord, show us this mercy, and give us grace so to fear Thee, as that we may never be brought to fear or feel them. And whensoever Thou wilt correct us for our sins, let us fall into Thy hands, and

[d] [One of the Collects for the Day, in the 'Form of Prayer necessary to be used in these dangerous times of War and Pestilence, &c. Lond. 1626.']

not into the hands of men. Grant this for Jesus Christ His sake, our only Mediator and Redeemer. Amen.

O eternal God and most gracious Father, we have deserved whatsoever Thy law hath threatened against sinners. Our contempt of Thy divine worship is great, and we hear Thy word, but obey it not. Forgive us, O Lord, forgive us these and all other our grievous sins. Give us light in our understanding, readiness and obedience in our will, discretion in our words and actions; true, serious, and loyal endeavours for the peace and prosperity of Jerusalem, the unity and glory of this Church and State; that so we may love it and prosper in it, and be full of grace in this life, and filled with glory in the life to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen [e].

Gratiarum Actio pro Pestilentia extincta. 1626 [f].

O most merciful God, we give Thee praise and thanks for the wonderful ceasing of the late raging pestilence in the chief city of this kingdom, and other places. Lord, show us yet further mercy, and look upon all parts of this land with tender compassion. Keep back the destroying angel, that he enter not into places that are yet free, nor make further waste in those which are already visited. Comfort them that are sick, preserve them that are sound, receive them that die to mercy, that living and dying, they and we may continue Thy faithful servants, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

In Danger of Enemies. 1626 [g].

O most gracious God and loving Father, we have felt Thy manifold mercies, no nation more; and we have committed sins against Thee, few nations greater. Enter not into judgment with us, O Lord, but for Christ and His mercy's sake, pacify Thine anger, and save us from the malice and cruelty of our enemies. They are our crying sins that have called them upon us. Let it be an addition to Thy wonted mercy, to restrain their fury. To this end, Lord, put Thy bridle into their mouths, and Thy bit between their teeth. Frustrate their designs, and let them find no way in our seas, nor any path in our floods; but scatter them with Thy tempest,

[e] [Abridged from the Prayer directed, in the same Form, to be used after the Prayer, "We humbly beseech Thee."]

[f] [One of the Collects for the Day in the Evening Prayer of the same Form, slightly altered.]

[g] [Slightly altered from Prayer in the same Form, to be used after Prayer for Church Militant.]

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and follow them with all Thy storms; that we being delivered by Thy hand, may bless and honour Thy name, devoutly serving Thee all our days, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

1626. 1628. O Lord, Thou gracious Governor of all the kingdoms of the earth, look down, we beseech Thee, in mercy upon this realm, and upon all other Reformed Churches. Save and deliver us and them from the hands of all such as threaten our destruction. Protect the person of our gracious Sovereign, direct his counsels, go forth with his armies, be unto him and to us a wall of brass, and a strong tower of defence against his and our enemies; that so we being safe through Thy mercy, may live to serve Thee in Thy Church, and ever give Thee praise and glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

For the safe Child-bearing of the Queen's Majesty, 1628[b]. O eternal God and merciful Father, all peace and strength of kingdoms is from Thee; and lineal succession is Thy great blessing, both upon princes and states; the great means to preserve unity and confirm strength. We therefore give Thee humble and hearty thanks, as for all Thy blessings, so especially at this time for Thy great mercy and loving-kindness to our dread Sovereign, his Royal Queen, and this whole State, in giving her Majesty hope of her long-desired issue, thereby filling their and our hearts with gladness. Lord, go along with Thine own blessings to perfect them. Be with her in soul and in body, preserve her from all dangers, keep her safe to and in the hour of travail, that there may be strength to bring forth her joy and our hope. And make her a joyful mother of many children, to the glory of Thy great Name, the happiness of his Majesty, the security of this State, and the flourishing of the Church and true religion amongst us. Grant this, even for Jesus Christ His sake, our only Lord and Saviour. Amen.

For the safe Child-bearing of O eternal God and merciful Father, since lineal succession is under Thee the great security of kingdoms, and the very

[b] [This first child of the Royal parents died almost immediately after its birth. See the following entry in the Diary:—"May 13. Wednesday. This day, about three of the clock, the Queen was delivered before her time of a son. He was christened, and died within short space. This was Ascension Eve. The next day being, May 14, Ascension Day, *paulo ante mediam noctem*, I buried him at Westminster."]

life of peace, we therefore give Thee most humble and hearty thanks for the great blessing which Thou hast again begun to work for our gracious King Charles and this whole State, in giving the Queen's Majesty further hopes of a desired and happy issue. And as we give Thee humble and hearty thanks for this, so we pray Thee to perfect this great blessing thus begun, to preserve her from all dangers, and to be with her by special assistance in the hour of travail. Lord, make her a happy mother of successful children, to the increase of Thy glory, the comfort of his Majesty, the joy of her own heart, the safety of the State, and the preservation of the Church and true religion among us. Grant this even for Jesus Christ His sake, our only Saviour and Redeemer. Amen.

the Queen's Majesty, 1629. 1631[i].

O most merciful God and gracious Father, Thou hast given us the joy of our hearts, the contentment of our souls for this life, in blessing our dear and dread Sovereign, and his virtuous royal Queen, with a hopeful son, and us with a prince, in Thy just time and his to rule over us. We give Thy glorious Name most humble and hearty thanks for this. Lord, make us so thankful, so obedient to Thee for this great mercy, that Thy goodness may delight to increase it to us. Increase it, good Lord, to more children, the prop one of another against single hope; increase it to more sons, the great strength of his Majesty and his throne; increase it in the joy of his royal parents, and all true-hearted subjects; increase it by his Christian and happy education both in faith and goodness; that this kingdom and people may be happy in the long life and prosperity of our most gracious Sovereign and his royal consort. And when fulness of days must gather time, Lord, double his graces[l], and make them apparent in this his heir, and his heirs after him, for all generations to come, even for Jesus Christ His sake, our Lord and only Saviour. Amen.

A Thanksgiving for the Queen's safe Delivery, and happy Birth of Prince Charles, 1630. May 29[k].

[i] [A copy of the form for this year could not be found; the same form, however, was used in 1635, and nearly the same in 1644.]

[k] ["Maii 29. Saturday. Prince Charles was born at St. James's, *paulo ante horam primam post meridiem; I was in the house three hours before, and had the honour and the happiness to see the Prince, before he was full one hour old."*]

[l] [See Hacket's remark on this expression, Life of Williams, par. ii. p. 96.]

A Thanksgiving for the Queen's safe Delivery, and happy Birth of the Lady Mary, Nov. 4, 1631 [m].

O most gracious God and loving Father, we give Thee, as we are bound, most humble and hearty thanks for Thy great mercy extended to us and this whole State, in blessing the Queen's Majesty with a happy deliverance in and from the great pains and perils of childbirth. We humbly beseech Thee to continue and increase this blessing; to give her strength that she may happily overcome this and all dangers else; that his most gracious Majesty may long have joy in her happy life: that she may have joy in his Majesty's prosperity; that both of them may have comfort in the royal Prince Charles, the new-born Princess the Lady Mary, and with them in a hopeful, healthful, and successful posterity; that the whole kingdom may have fulness of joy in them; and that both they and we may all have joy in the true honour and service of God; that both Church and kingdom may be blessed, and their royal persons filled with honour in this life, and with eternal happiness in the life to come, even for Jesus Christ His sake, our only Lord and Saviour. Amen.

A Thanksgiving for his Majesty's Recovery from the Small Pox. 1632 [n].

O eternal God and merciful Father, we give Thee all humble and hearty thanks for our most gracious Sovereign Lord King Charles, both for the gentleness of Thy hand in a disease otherwise so troublesome and fearful, and for the mercifulness of Thy hand in taking it off so soon and so happily. We know, and acknowledge before Thee, our sins, and what grievous punishments they have deserved: but, Lord, we beseech Thee still to remember us in mercy, and long to bless our gracious King with life, and health, and strength, and happiness, and above all, with the fear of Thy holy Name; that so he may continue under Thee, and over us, a father of the State, a patron of the Church, a comfort to his royal Queen, till he see his children's children, and peace upon Israel. Grant this, good Lord, even for Jesus Christ His sake. Amen.

[m] [From a Thanksgiving for the safe delivery of the Queen, and happy birth of the young princesse. Imprinted at London, by Robert Barker, &c. 1631. The birth is thus noticed in the Diary:—"Novemb. 4. Friday. The Lady Mary, Princess, born at St. James's, *inter horas quintam et sextam matutinas*. It was thought she was born three weeks before her time." The Princess Mary married William II. Prince of Orange, and was the mother of King William III.]

[n] ["Decemb. 2. Sunday. The small pox appeared upon his Majesty, but, God be thanked, he had a very gentle disease of it."—Diary, an. 1632.]

A Thanksgiving for the Queen's safe Delivery, and happy Birth of James, Duke of York [o].

Most gracious God and loving Father, we give Thee all humble and hearty thanks for Thy great mercy in blessing the Queen's Majesty with a happy deliverance in and from the great pains and peril of childbirth. We humbly beseech Thee to continue Thy mercies towards her, that she may happily overcome this and all other dangers; that his most gracious Majesty may long have joy in her most happy life, and both of them comfort in the royal Prince Charles, and the rest of their princely issue; particularly in the new-born prince, the Duke of York; that they all may prove a healthful, hopeful, and a successful posterity; that both Church and kingdom may have fulness of joy in them; that their Majesties' royal persons may be filled with honour in this life, and with eternal happiness in the life to come; and this even for Jesus Christ His sake, our only Saviour and Redeemer. Amen.

A Prayer for the King's Majesty in his Northern Expedition. 1639 [p].

O eternal God and merciful Father, by whom alone kings reign, Thou Lord of Hosts, and giver of all victory, we humbly beseech Thee to guard our most gracious Sovereign Lord King Charles; to bless him in his person with health and safety, in his counsels with wisdom and prudence, and in all his actions with honour and good success. Grant, blessed Lord, that victory may attend his designs, and that his liege people may rejoice in Thee; but that shame may cover the face of Thine and his treacherous enemies. Give him, blessed Father, so to settle his subjects in peace, and the true fear of Thy Divine Majesty, that he may return with joy and honour, and proceed long to govern his kingdoms in peace and plenty, and in the happiness of true religion and piety, all his days. These blessings, and whatsoever else shall be necessary for him, or for ourselves, we humbly beg of Thee, O merciful Father, for Jesus Christ His sake, our only Mediator and Redeemer. Amen.

[o] ["Novemb. 24. Sunday. In the afternoon I christened King Charles's second son, James, Duke of York, at St. James's."—Diary, An. 1633.]

[p] [This Prayer was directed to be said in all churches in the time of Divine service, next after the Prayer for the Queen and the Royal Progeny. The King's expedition is thus noticed in the Diary:—"Mar. 27. Wednesday. Coronation Day, King Charles took his journey northward against the Scottish covenanting rebels. God of His infinite mercy bless him with health and success."]

For the King in his Northern Expedition. 1640 [q].

O eternal God and merciful Father, by whom alone kings reign, Thou Lord of Hosts and giver of all victory, we humbly beseech Thee both now and ever to guide and preserve our most gracious Sovereign Lord King Charles; to bless him in his person with health and safety, in his counsels with wisdom and prudence, and in all his actions with honour and good success, especially against those his traitorous subjects, who, having cast off all obedience to their anointed Sovereign, do at this time in rebellious manner invade this realm. Grant, blessed Lord, that victory may attend his Majesty's designs, that his liege people may rejoice in Thee; but that shame may cover the faces of Thine and his treacherous enemies. Enable him, blessed Father, so to vanquish and subdue them all, that his loyal subjects being settled in peace, and the true fear of Thy holy Name, he may return with joy and honour, and continue to govern his kingdoms in peace and plenty, and in the happiness of true religion and piety, all his days. These blessings, and whatsoever else shall be necessary for him, or for ourselves, we humbly beg of Thee, O merciful Father, for Jesus Christ His sake, our only Mediator and Redeemer. Amen.

QUOTIDIE.

O Lord, forgive me all my sins that are past. O Lord, strengthen me against all temptations, especially the temptations of, &c.

O Lord, fill my heart with thankfulness: and I do give Thee most humble and hearty thanks for the great deliverance of me from the rage and fury of the multitude. O Lord, let the same wings of Thy merciful protection be spread over me all the days of my life. O Lord, give me a faithful, a patient, a penitent, a persevering heart in Thy service; that so I may with comfort daily, nay hourly, expect when my changing shall come. So Amen, Lord Jesu. Amen.

[q] [Directed to be used in the same place as the preceding Prayer. The expedition is thus noticed in the Diary:—"Aug. 20. Thursday. His Majesty took his journey toward the North in haste, upon information that the Scots were entered the Monday before into England, and meant to be at Newcastle by Saturday."]

ABSOLUTIO.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners which truly repent and believe in Him, of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences. And by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

ADMISSIO IN ECCLESIAM.

God, who of His mercy hath given you grace to give yourself to His Church, preserve and keep you in His truth, free both from superstition and profaneness. The Lord bless and keep you. The Lord make His face shine upon you, and be merciful unto you. The Lord lift up His countenance upon you, and give you peace in conscience, and constancy in truth. And by the power of ministration committed to me by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I re-admit you into the fellowship of His Church, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Numb. vi. 24.

THE HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES AND TRYAL OF

The Moſt Reverend Father in God, and Bleſſed Martyr,

WILLIAM LAUD,

Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury.*

Wrote by HIMSELF, *during his Impriſonment in the* Tower.

To which is prefixed

THE DIARY OF HIS OWN LIFE

Faithfully and entirely Publiſhed from the Original Copy.

IMPRIMATUR,

Martij 7. 169$\frac{3}{4}$. JO. CANT.

LONDON:

Printed for Ri. Chiſwell, at the *Rose* and *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard, M DC XCV.

THE PREFACE.

THAT the reader may be satisfied, how it came to pass, that an history wrote of, and by, a person of so great a character in this nation, and by him designed for the public, hath lain hid, and been suppressed for near fifty years; through whose hands it hath passed; and by what means, and by whose labour it is at last published; he may be pleased to take the following account.

The Most Reverend Archbishop, the author and subject of this history, was very exact and careful in keeping all papers which concerned himself, or any affairs of Church and State, passing through his hands; not only kept a journal of his own actions, but from time to time, took minutes of whatsoever passed at Council Table, Star Chamber, High Commission Court, &c.; digested all his papers in most exact order; wrote with his own hand on the back or top of every one, what it concerned, when it was received, when wrote or answered, &c.

This his enemies knew full well; and therefore, when after they had caused him to be impeached of high treason, of endeavouring to introduce Popery and arbitrary government, and to be imprisoned upon the impeachment in the end of the year 1640; and had now in vain laboured for two years and a half, to find out evidence to prove this their accusation; but the more they sought, they found to their confusion, so much the greater evidence of the contrary: after they had in vain ransacked all papers left by the Archbishop in his study at Lambeth, and examined all his intimate friends and subaltern agents upon oath; when nothing did appear, they hoped to find somewhat against him, either in his private

journal of his life, which they knew to be kept by him, or in those papers which he had carried with him from Lambeth at his first commitment, in order to his future defence. Upon these hopes, they with great privacy framed an order for the searching his chamber and pockets in the Tower, in May 1643; and committed the execution of it to his inveterate enemy, William Prynne; who thereupon took from the Archbishop twenty-one bundles of papers, which he had prepared for his defence: his Diary, his Book of Private Devotions, the Scotch Service Book, and directions accompanying it, &c. And although he then faithfully promised restitution of them within three or four days, yet never restored any more than three bundles, employed such against the Archbishop at his trial, as might seem prejudicial to his cause; suppressed those which might be advantageous to him; published many, embezzled some; and kept the rest to the day of his death.

As soon as Prynne was possessed of the Archbishop's papers, he set himself with eager malice to make use of them to his defamation, and to prove the charge of Popery and abetting arbitrary government, by the publication of many of them. His first specimen in this kind was a pamphlet, which came out in August following, entituled, 'Rome's Masterpiece,' in five sheets in quarto, containing the papers and letters relating to the plot, contrived by Papists against the Church and State then established in England, and discovered by Andreas ab Habernfeild. But never did malice appear so gross and ridiculous together, as in this case. For from this plot, if there were any truth in it, it appeared, that the life of the Archbishop was chiefly aimed at by the plotters, as the grand obstacle of their design; and one who could by no arts be wrought to any connivance of them, much less concurrence with them. This pamphlet being, after the publication of it, carried to the Archbishop in the Tower, he made several marginal annotations on it, in answer to Prynne's falsifications and malicious calumnies intermixed therein. Which copy, coming afterwards into the hands of Dr. Baily, the Archbishop's executor, was by him given to the learned antiquary, Mr. Anthony Wood, and by him transmitted to me, in order to be placed among the

other papers and memorials, which are to follow this history, according to the Archbishop's own direction.

But Prynne's malice could not be abated by the shame of one miscarriage. In the next place, he bethought himself of publishing the Archbishop's Diary, as soon as his trial ended, wherein it had been often produced as evidence against him. This then he published in the beginning of September, 1644, in nine sheets in folio, with this title, 'A Breviat of the Life of,' &c., (intending it, as he saith, "for a prologue to the much desired History of his Trial,") but neither entire, nor faithfully, as far as he did publish it; but altered, mangled, corrupted, and glossed in a most shameful manner; accompanied with "desperate untruths," as the Archbishop complains in this history; and therefore added: "For this Breviat of his, if God lend me life and strength to end this (History) first, I shall discover to the world the base and malicious slanders with which it is fraught."[a] This the Archbishop wrote, when he despaired that ever his Diary should be recovered out of those vile hands, in which it then was, and be published faithfully and entirely; which would be the most effectual discovery of the baseness and malice of Prynne therein.

Yet notwithstanding so vile and corrupt an edition of it, all those who have wrote anything of this excellent prelate, have been forced to make use of it; not being able to gain the sight of the original, nor perhaps so much as suspecting any such fraud in the edition of it. Particularly, it is much to be lamented, that Dr. Heylin, who wrote the 'History of the Archbishop's Life,' with great care and elegance, was forced, in most things, to borrow his account from this corrupted edition of his Diary, and hath thereby been led into many and great errors. Others also have, since him, taken up and divulged many false opinions concerning the Diary itself; as that it was wholly wrote in Latin by the Archbishop, that it was by himself entituled 'A Breviat of his Life,' and that it was translated and published entire by Prynne.

[a] [See History of Troubles and Trial, p. 254. in marg. Some MS. notes on Prynne's Breviat, by the Archbishop, evidently intended as materials for a reply, will be found in this edition at the end of the Diary.]

The true and faithful publication of it, which I have made from the original, now in my hands, will not only supply the defect of what the Archbishop intended in the words before related, but never effected; but will also undeniably assert his innocence from those greater accusations formerly brought against him, and will further clear him from many later assertions of lesser moment. I will name but one, which is to be found in the Life of Archbishop Williams, wrote by Bishop Hacket, and lately published. Therein (pp. 63, 64) Dr. Laud is taxed of high ingratitude against Williams, who is there in a long relation represented as his great benefactor, and who particularly gained of King James the bishopric of St. David's for him, by his great and restless importunity, when the king had determined not to promote him, as unworthy of his favour, for reasons there expressed. I question not Bishop Hacket's veracity, or that Archbishop Williams did indeed relate this to him. But then Williams will be found strongly to have prevaricated, when he pretended that Laud owed that preferment to his kindness, and thereupon taxed him of ingratitude. For from what is related in the following Diary, at June 29, 1621, it appears indeed that Williams stickled hard to gain the bishopric of St. David's for Laud, not out of any kindness to him, but for his own ends, that so himself might retain the deanery of Westminster, with the bishopric of Lincoln, (to which he was then nominated,) which otherwise had slipped from him; the king having designed to give it to Dr. Laud, upon the avoidance of it by the promotion of Dr. Williams to the see of Lincoln. But whatever may be in this matter alleged against Dr. Laud; I am sure, no art or colour can defend that bitter revenge of Archbishop Williams, related in this history[b]; which prompted him to move earnestly in the House of Lords, that the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury (then a prisoner in the Tower) might be sequestered, and put into the hands of his inferior officers; which by his importunity he obtained, to the great prejudice of the Church, and no small infamy of himself.

I do not pretend to justify the whole proceeding of Archbishop Laud, during the whole course of his power and

[b] [History of Troubles and Trial, chap. xi. p. 183, in marg.]

government, against Archbishop Williams. I do rather lament it, as the great misfortune both of themselves and the Church at that time, that two such eminent prelates, equally endued with extraordinary learning, wisdom, and greatness of mind, should be engaged in constant opposition and enmity to each other, at first raised by mutual distrust and emulation, and ever after kept up and fomented by reciprocal injuries and false representations on each side. But that the blame of this misfortune should be cast wholly on the one side; that unworthy reflections should be made and published in prejudice of Archbishop Laud; that he should be accused of base ingratitude, of impotent malice, of insatiable revenge; while the other is represented as the most calm, most innocent, and most heroical person imaginable; I cannot without some indignation observe in the beforementioned historian, otherwise of eminent worth and character, who, to approve his gratitude to his patron and promoter, hath grossly neglected the laws of history, and cared not how injuriously he treated the memory of Archbishop Laud, that he might justify the quarrel and heighten the encomium of Archbishop Williams. Upon this account, and with this design, Williams is pretended to have been the great patron and benefactor of Laud, to have "procured him his first rochet [c]," &c., that so the latter might appear guilty of the highest ingratitude against the other. Hence these reflections are frequently repeated:—"Of all men, Bishop Laud was the man whose enmity was most tedious and most spiteful against his great benefactor, Williams [d]." This dealing of Laud "is past excuse, and can bear no apology [e]." And "the cause of his (Bishop Williams's) incessant molestations for twelve years was his known enemy, Bishop Laud. Could he so soon forget him that first made him a bishop [f]?" &c. "The undoing of his brother was so much in his mind, that it was never out of his dreams [g]." In other places Laud is represented as utterly implacable and irreconcilable in his malice against Williams; is accused of "impotent malevolence [h];" and his "implacable spite against a Bishop, his raiser, and

[c] Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams, par. 1. p. 64. [Lond. 1693.] par. 2. p. 115.
[d] Par. 2. p. 65.
[e] [Ibid. p.] 66.
[f] Par. 2. pp. 85. 115.
[g] P. 85, &c.
[h] P. 129.

now" (by being a prisoner in the Tower) "become a spectacle of pity," said to be "unpardonable[i]." Again, he is traduced to have been possessed with "a revengeful mind[k]." Whereas to the other this lofty encomium is bestowed, that "there did not live that Christian that hated revenge more than he, or that would forgive an injury sooner[l]." These, and many like passages, are as far remote from truth and justice as they are from that sincerity and impartiality which become an historian.

I had intended to have said no more upon this head. But I cannot prevail with myself to pass by an heinous accusation, formerly brought against Archbishop Laud, concerning his having altered the oath administered to King Charles I. at his coronation, in favour of the crown and prejudice of the people. Which accusation it hath pleased an honourable, reverend, and learned person very lately to renew in a public speech[m], in these words:—"The striking out of that part of the ancient oath in King Charles his time at his coronation, by Archbishop Laud, (that the king should consent to such laws as the people should choose,) and instead of that, another very unusual one inserted, saving the king's prerogative royal. And I could tell you of somewhat more of that kind, done since, in the time of the late King James; at the time of his coronation there was much more struck out of the Coronation Oath: which might well be worth the inquiring, how it came about." I must not presume to oppose anything delivered by an oracle of the law, in a court of judicature, to a great auditory, upon a solemn occasion. However, I beg leave to acquaint the reader that a full and undeniable justification of Archbishop Laud from this charge may be found in this History, chap. xxxiii.[n] I may further presume, that the author of this speech is too just and honourable to intend, by the latter clause, any reflection upon another Archbishop who administered the Coronation Oath to King James II. Or if any reader should be so ill informed as to misconceive his Lordship herein, I hope it will be no

[i] [Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams, par. 2. p. 129. Lond. 1693.]

[k] P. 131.

P. 230.

[m] L. C. Baron Atkyn's Speech to the Lord Mayor, October 1693, pp. 4, 5. [Lond. 1693.]

[n] [History of Troubles and Trial, pp. 318, seq. in marg.]

offence to say, that it would be no difficult matter to justify in this case the proceeding of the one Archbishop as clearly as this History doth the other.

I may further add, that the entire publication of this Diary contributes very much to illustrate the history of those times; and that both it and the following History discover many secrets (before unknown) in matters of Church and State, and correct many errors, commonly taken up and received in relation to either. To give one particular instance; I know a certain demagogue, who would fain be esteemed, and is generally accounted by those of his party, to know more of the secret history of the transactions preceding and accompanying the Grand Rebellion than the whole world besides, who hath confidently related, that when the Earl of Strafford entered into the service of King Charles I. and began to be employed as chief minister of State, he covenanted with him that no session of parliament should be called or held during his ministry. Now the falsity of this report appears from what the Archbishop hath wrote in his Diary at Dec. 5, 1639, that the first movers for calling a parliament at that time were the Earl of Strafford and himself. Nothing also can reflect more honour upon the memory of any person than what the Archbishop (in the following History, chap. ix.) relateth of the Earl's rejecting the unworthy proposition made to him by Mr. Denzell Hollis, in the name of the leading men of the House of Commons; a matter wholly unknown before[o].

But to proceed with Prynne. Soon after the martyrdom of the Archbishop, whether prompted by his unwearied malice, or by his eternal itch of scribbling, or incited by the order of the House of Commons, made March 4, 1644-5, "desiring him to print and publish all the proceedings concerning the Archbishop of Canterbury's trial:" he immediately set himself to defame the Archbishop, and justify the proceedings of the rebel parliament against him, more at large. To which purpose, he published, in 1646, in sixty-six sheets in folio, his 'Necessary Introduction to the History of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Trial:' which in the Preface he calleth "a new discovery of sundry plots, and hidden works

[o] [History of Troubles and Trial, p. 177, in marg.]

of darkness:" containing bitter invectives and accusations against the whole proceedings of the Court, from the time of the treaty about the Spanish match to that day; and labouring to prove that both King James and Charles designed to overthrow the established religion, and to introduce popery, using Archbishop Laud as their chief instrument in that bad design: an accusation, which neither himself, nor any other man in his wits, ever believed.

Soon after this, in the same year 1646, was published by the same author, 'Canterbury's Doom; or the First Part of a complete History of the Trial of the Archbishop,' in 145 sheets in folio, containing (as himself acknowledgeth) only the history of the preliminaries of the trial till the commencement of it, "together with the Commons' evidence, his answers to it, and their replies upon him, in maintenance of the first general branch of their charge of high treason against him, to wit, his traitorous endeavours to alter and subvert God's true religion by law established among us, to introduce popery, and to reconcile the Church of England to the Church of Rome[p]." The remaining part of the trial he engaged (by promise[q] made both in the beginning and end of that book) "to complete and publish with all convenient speed;" but never made good his undertaking; nor, as I believe, ever did intend it. For he well knew, that however what was urged against the Archbishop at his trial in this matter, and was largely amplified in his History, in proof of the Archbishop's endeavour to subvert the established religion, carried with it some show of truth in the judgment of a then miserably deluded people, who were cheated into a belief (cursed be the wilful authors of that cheat, which in great measure yet continueth) that good works, building, repairing, consecrating and adorning churches, bowing at the name of Jesus, prostration to God in prayer, wearing copes, retaining the use of canonical hours in prayer, and such like decent usages and ceremonies, were downright popery (for these and such like were the proofs of that accusation brought against the Archbishop), yet that all which they did or could produce in

[p] Epist. Ded. [p. 1.]

[q] Rushworth also promised to publish such an exact history of the trial of this Archbishop, as he had done of that of the Earl of Strafford. Collect. par. 3. vol. ii. p. 833; but never did effect it.

confirmation of their other heads of accusation against the Archbishop, carried not with it the least appearance of proof. For which reason, Prynne began the History of his Trial with the charge and proofs of popery; although that was not the first, but the last head of accusation brought against him, and canvassed in the course of his trial.

However, the godly cheat, once begun, was by any means to be continued; and therefore it was pretended by Prynne, and other adversaries of the Archbishop, that although, "to give him his due," (for such are Prynne's own words, p. 462,) "the Archbishop made as full, as gallant, as pithy a defence of so bad a cause, and spake as much for himself, as was possible for the wit of man to invent, and that with so much art, sophistry, vivacity, oratory, audacity, and confidence, without the least acknowledgment of guilt in anything," &c.; yet that after all, the crimes objected being undeniably proved against him, and himself thereupon despairing of being able to justify and clear his innocence, either to the then present or to succeeding times, "did burn all the notes of his answers and defence before his death, of purpose to prevent their publication after it." Which calumny Prynne hath twice (in Epist. Dedic., [p. 7.] and p. 461) repeated, pretending to have received the knowledge of it from the Archbishop's own Secretary, Mr. Dell.

The falsity of this base report appears sufficiently from this History, wrote by the Archbishop, and now published. He had begun to compose it before the end of the year 1641, and continued it from time to time, till the 3d of January, 1644-5, which was the seventh day before his execution. For, on the 4th of January, being acquainted that sentence had passed upon him in the House of Lords, he conveyed the original copy of his History into safe hands, and prepared himself for death. That he had begun it before the end of 1641, and augmented it from time to time, appears evidently from several places of it. And although in the narration of his Trial, many things said or alleged in the recapitulation on the last days, be interwoven with the history of every day's trial, yet all those passages were added by him afterwards on the blank pages, which he had for that purpose left over-against every written page in the original copy; and

from thence were, according to his directions, transcribed in the other copy into one entire narration. Hence it comes to pass, (which the reader will easily observe,) that the Archbishop writing down the transactions of every day, as they happened, hath left so many plain indications of haste, and sometimes of heat. Some things seem to have been wrote while his spirits had not yet recovered a sedate temper; many improprieties of language committed, and other defects admitted, which the Archbishop himself being sensible of, had wrote in the first leaf of his book: *Non apposui manum ultimam.* W. CANT.

That the most reverend author wrote this History for the public vindication of himself, cannot be doubted. Nay, himself more than once affirmeth, that he intended it for the vindication of himself to the whole Christian world: and chiefly indeed for the defence of himself and the Church of England in foreign parts, where wrong notions are generally entertained of the constitution of our Church, as being for the most part taken from the writings of some puritanical divines among us. For this reason the Archbishop earnestly desired (which desire is thrice in this work expressed[r]) that it might be carefully and exactly translated into Latin, and printed; that he might thereby appeal "to the judgment of the learned in all parts of Christendom." To this end himself had procured the Liturgy, which he had composed for the Church of Scotland to be turned into Latin, that it might be published with it. "To the end," saith he, that the "book may be extant, and come to the view of the Christian world, and their judgment of it be known, I have caused it to be exactly translated into Latin; and if right be done me, it shall be printed with this History[s]." This Latin translation of the Scotch Liturgy, as also the English original copy of the first draught of it, are now in my hands; and shall one or both of them be hereafter (God willing) published in the Collection of Memorials. It should seem that when the Archbishop designed a Latin edition of his History, he despaired that the generality of this nation, then miserably

[r] [See History of Troubles and Trial, chap. iv. pp. 138. 143, in marg.]

[s] [Ibid. chap. vii. p. 169, in marg. This translation was executed by Peter Heylin. See his Life prefixed to his Historical Tracts, p. xiii. Lond. 1681.]

distempered in matter of religion, would ever so far regain the use of their wits as to be able to pass an impartial judgment upon his cause. But, God be thanked, the Church, for which he suffered, and which was ruined with him, was in a short time after beyond hope reestablished; and therewith sobriety returning into the minds of men, no place is now so fit for the publication of this History as our own island; and no language more proper for it than our own, which is the original wherein it was wrote.

It should seem that what was already wrote of this History, in May, 1643, when Prynne searched the Archbishop's chamber in the Tower, and seized his papers found there, escaped his ravenous hands. Whether after the Archbishop's death, and the completion of it, the copy of it came into his hands, I cannot certainly affirm, (the reason of my uncertainty I shall relate presently,) but do believe that it did. Which if it did, I suppose he having got notice of it, seized it by virtue of an order of the House of Commons, March 4, 1644-5, empowering him to "send for all writings," &c. relating to the Archbishop of Canterbury his trial.

To proceed. All the Archbishop's papers taken from him by Prynne, either out of his study at Lambeth soon after his commitment, or out of his chamber and pockets in the Tower, or seized after his martyrdom, remained in Prynne's hands until his death. When Archbishop Sheldon, well knowing that the papers of his predecessor, Archbishop Laud, had been unjustly seized and detained by him, procured an order of the King and Council, deputing Sir William Dugdale and some others to view his study, and, taking thence all the books and papers formerly belonging to Archbishop Laud, to deliver them into his hands. This was accordingly done; and the books and papers being seized, brought to Archbishop Sheldon; although very much diminished in number, and embezzled, since they had come into Prynne's hands. For he seems either to have printed many of them from the originals, to save the labour of transcribing them, or to have burned them, or otherwise employed them to common uses, when once printed. So that very few of those papers, which Prynne had published in the several pamphlets and books before named, came into Archbishop Sheldon's hands. And

not a few, even of those which had not been published, were found wanting. Particularly the papers of Archbishop Laud, concerning the conversion of his godson, Mr. William Chillingworth, which the Archbishop saith were taken away from him by Mr. Prynne, and being by him produced at the Committee for drawing up his charge, were there examined.

Whether the copy of this History was seized at this time in Mr. Prynne's study, or came to Archbishop Sheldon by other means, I cannot certainly affirm; but this I am assured of, that Archbishop Sheldon, having about this time got into his hands the copy of this History, and having now gained also the other papers of Archbishop Laud, sent for the truly reverend and learned Dr. William Sancroft, then Dean of St. Paul's, and delivered both to him, ordering him to publish the History, with such papers as were necessary to it, with all convenient speed. This Dr. Sancroft willingly undertook; but upon reading of the History, found the copy to be so very vicious, that it would not be fit to be published till the original might be recovered, whereby the defects of it might be supplied and corrected. Hereupon they set themselves to search after the original; which at last they found in St. John's College in Oxford, having been deposited there (as I suppose) by Dr. Richard Baily, formerly President of that College, and executor to the author.

After this was done, a new scruple was started concerning the language wherein it should be published. Archbishop Sheldon was desirous it might be translated into, and published in Latin, in compliance with the desire and intention of the author. The Dean of St. Paul's, on the other side, was of opinion that it would be more useful to the public, and serviceable to the memory of the author, to publish it in English. This difference of opinion protracted the edition of it from time to time, until at last, Archbishop Sheldon continuing resolved in his opinion, the Dean yielded to his authority, and only desiring that some learned civilian might be joined with him, who might render the forms of pleading in apt Latin expressions, prepared himself for the undertaking. But in the interim Archbishop Sheldon dying, the Dean was most deservedly chosen to succeed him in the Archbishopric. Whereby being involved in constant public

business both of Church and State, he was forced to lay aside his design of publishing this history, yet not without hopes of finding, at some time or other, opportunity to perform it: for which reason he devolved not the care of it upon any other, but kept it by him, and in the meantime endeavoured to get into his hands all other papers relating to Archbishop Laud or his cause.

But in vain did he hope to find so much leisure while the administration of the chief office in the Church took up his whole care and thoughts. What he could not then do he hoped to accomplish after his retirement into Suffolk, in August 1691; yet neither then did he set about it until the middle of the year 1693, when opening his papers, he began to collate the copy with the original, to divide the history into chapters, to examine the citations, to write down several directions and memoranda for his own use in preparing the edition, to note what places deserved to be amended or considered, to write several observations on the margin, to draw up a catalogue of the memorials to be added as an Appendix to the History, to note which of them were in his hands, and which being wanting to him were to be sought elsewhere[t].

He was earnestly employed about this matter; and the original and copy, with many of the papers belonging to it, lay on his scrutoire before him; and himself was then writing certain queries, memoranda, and directions for his use therein, in a loose paper; when a violent fever seized him, August 25, which having confined him to his bed full thirteen weeks, he at last surrendered up his pious soul to God, the 24th of November, on Friday, early in the morning, in the 77th year of his age.

As soon as he had reason to apprehend that his sickness would prove mortal, remembering what he was last employed about, the edition of this History, he was desirous to see me, that so he might commit the care of it to me. But so it was, that I hearing of his sickness, and not knowing anything, either of this History being in his hands, or of his intentions about it, took a journey into Suffolk, to wait upon him as in duty bound, (having the honour and the happiness to be his chaplain,) whither I came on the last day of October. He

[t] [See MSS. Lamb. No. 577, p. 289.]

was then pleased to acquaint me with his design, related to me how the History, with the other papers of Archbishop Laud, came into his hands, how he had often prepared himself for the perfection of this edition, and was at last hindered by his present sickness. In fine, he laid his commands upon me to perfect what he had begun, and to publish the History as soon as might be; and then immediately caused to be delivered to me the original and copy of the History, with the Diary, and all other papers of Archbishop Laud, or his own, relating to them, which then laid upon or about his scrutoire or could be found in his study. His voice was then very weak and his spirits faint, so that he could not give to me that perfect account by what means the copy came into Archbishop Sheldon's hands, which I had desired of him. For he having omitted to tell me that distinctly, and I desiring satisfaction in that and some other questions about this book, he could only answer me: "These are material questions; but I am weary with speaking, and my spirits are faint. I cannot make to you any further answers herein." After which I never presumed to trouble him with the question.

However, having observed, upon reading the book, and looking over the papers, that many even of those memorials were wanting, which I found that my most reverend patron had in his written notes marked to be in his hands, I took the boldness, when I next waited on him (on November 22 following), to acquaint him with this defect. Whereupon he immediately ordered me to search all his papers, (the greater part of which had not been opened nor put in order since his removal from Lambeth,) which I began forthwith to do, and thereby found many papers relating to this History, or other papers of Archbishop Laud, scattered and divided among several parcels of other writings. But before I had searched half-way, evident signs of approaching death appearing in him, I quitted the search at that time, and renewed it not again till several weeks after his death, when I looked over the remaining part of his papers, and, with the leave of his executors, took thence whatsoever related to, or might be subservient to this design.

In this latter search I found many things; but neither first nor last could find several papers of Archbishop Laud of great

moment, which I am well assured were in the hand of my late Lord Archbishop Sancroft, because I find them testified so to be in the catalogue of Archbishop Laud's papers in his hands, drawn by himself. Among these is a large Answer of Archbishop Laud to a speech made by William Lord Viscount Say and Seal against the civil power of bishops, and printed by him, London, 1642[u]. His answer to the speech of the same Lord against the Liturgy, and printed, London, 1641, I found, and have published in the end of this volume, as well because it contains many historical passages of the Archbishop's own life and actions, as for that it is nowhere referred to in this History, and so could not well be placed among the memorials intended for the Second Part. Archbishop Laud had also wrote a large and elaborate Answer to the speech of Nathaniel Fiennes, son to the Lord Say, against the new Canons, made in the end of the year 1640, and printed London, 1641, which he referreth to in this History[x]. This also was in the hands of my late Lord Archbishop Sancroft; as I find as well by the written catalogue before mentioned, as by a particular paper of observations made by him upon it, toward the completion and illustration of it[y]; whereby it appears to consist of above fifty pages in folio. But this, after a tedious and diligent search, I could not find. Which will not appear incredible to those who know what a vast multitude of papers and collections my late Lord Archbishop Sancroft left behind him; and therein more perhaps wrote with his own hand, than any man, either of this or the last age, ever did write.

Having obtained all the papers which could be found, I set myself to perfect the edition of this History, which I have at last performed, yet with greater trouble and labour than can easily be imagined. I caused the Diary to be exactly transcribed, adjoined an English translation to the Latin part of it, diligently collated the copy of the History with the original, the Articles and other memorials with the printed copies, if any such were; added what observations I thought

[u] [It was afterwards printed in the volume containing Archbishop Laud's "Remains," which was published by Edmund Wharton, after his son's death. See vol. vi. of this Edition.]

[x] [See History of Troubles and Trial, chap. xxix. p. 284, in marg.]

[y] [See MSS. Lamb. No. 577, at the end of his notes on the History.]

necessary in the margin; have everywhere religiously retained the author's own words and expressions throughout, (although therein, I must confess, against the judgment of my most reverend patron expressed in his written notes;) have only amended the orthography (which both in original and copy was monstrously vicious); inserted some words, where the sense was imperfect, but have always included such in crotchets; and in some places substituted Greek words instead of Latin in citations out of Greek Fathers or authors. So that the reader may be assured this History is faithfully conveyed to the public.

I have retained all my late Lord Archbishop Sancroft's observations, whether wrote in the margin of the book or elsewhere, if considerable, subjoining to them the letters W. S. A. C. I have subjoined to many of my own observations of greater moment, the letters H. W. And where Archbishop Laud had added anything in the margin, I have adjoined the letters W. C.

As for the collection of memorials and other papers, which by the author's direction should have accompanied this History; finding that they could not be published in the same volume without swelling it to too great a bulk, I have reserved them for a Second Part, and (if God grant me life and health) will cause them shortly to follow; and therewith give to the public what further account of them I shall then judge necessary.

The originals, both Diary and History, I intend at my death to leave to St. John's College in Oxford [z], where the author, the Archbishop, was bred, to which place he ever bore so great a love, and where his body now remaineth. Which intention of mine I chose here to mention, that the President and Fellows of that College may hereafter, if they shall think so fit, demand them from my executors.

To conclude: although private and personal matters or affections ought not readily to be admitted to accompany a work of such a public nature, yet I cannot forbear to say, that it is an inexpressible satisfaction to me, that in the edition of this work I have been able to serve the illustrious

[z] [They were delivered to the College before his death. See the note at the beginning of the History.]

author of it, and my most reverend deceased patron, and the Church of England, at the same time: and more particularly, that I account it the most fortunate transaction of my whole life to have contributed herein to the vindication of the memory and the cause of that most excellent prelate and blessed martyr, to whom I have always paid a more especial veneration, ever since I was able to form any judgment in these matters, as firmly believing him to have taken up and prosecuted the best and most effectual method, (although then in great measure unsuccessful, through the malignity of the times,) and to have had the noblest, the most zealous, and most sincere intentions therein, towards reestablishing the beauty, the honour, and the force of religion, in that part of the Catholic Church (the Church of England) to the service of which I have entirely devoted my life, my labours, and my fortunes.

HEN. WHARTON.

Feb. 2, 1693-4.

AN

INTRODUCTION

To the Following

HISTORY:

Containing the

DIARY

OF THE

Moſt Reverend Father in God

WILLIAM LAUD,

LORD

Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury:*

EXTENDING

From His Birth to the middle of the Year, MDCXLIII.

Being the Seventieth Year of His Age.

Faithfully and Entirely Publiſhed from the Original Copy,
Wrote with His own Hand.
The Latine part rendered into Engliſh, and adjoined.

LONDON,
Printed for Ri. Chiſwell, at the *Roſe* and *Crown* in St. *Paul's*
Church-Yard, 1694.

Opposite the first page is written the following entry :—

Dayes of observance to me.

P. Mors. April 11. 1594. Die Mercurii.
M. Mors. Novemb. 24. 1600. (day erased.)
Conjug. Devon. Decemb. 26. 1605. die Jovis, et Festo
S. Stephani. Et E. M.[a]

April 9. 1621.

eum E. B. Julii 28, 1617. Die Lunæ.
Ignis: &c: Septemb: 26. 1617: Die Vener.
Tendonem fregi. Feb. 5. 1628. Comp.
Juliano
(Five lines erased.)
Mors Ducis Buckinghamiæ Aug.
23. 1628. Dies erat Saturni
Litera. D.
Exaudita causa per Ja: R. . . .
Aug. 29. 1611.
The great hearinge of y^e^ . . . .
disorders, at Woodstock . . . .
Charles Aug: 23. 1631.

[a] ["Et E. M." inserted afterwards.]

1

THE DIARY

OF THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

WILLIAM LAUD,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

NATUS fui Octob. 7. 1573. R[edingi [1].] In infantia pene perii morbo, &c.

I WAS born Octob. 7. 1573. at Reading. In my infancy I was in danger of death by sickness, &c. A.D. 1573.

I came to Oxford, July 1589. A.D. 1589.

I was chosen Scholar of St. John's, June 1590. A.D. 1590.

I was admitted Fellow of St. John's, June, *an.* 1593. A.D. 1593.

My father died, April 11, 1594. *die Mercurii.* A.D. 1594.

I proceeded Bachelor of Arts, June 1594 [2].

I had a great sickness, 1596. A.D. 1596.

And another, 1597. A.D. 1597.

I proceeded Master of Arts, July 1598. A.D. 1598.

I was Grammar Reader that year; and fell into a great sickness at the end of it.

2 My mother died November 24, 1600 [3]. A.D. 1600.

I was made Deacon, 4 Januar. 1600. *comput. Angl.*

I was made Priest, April 5, 1601, Palm Sunday [4]: both by Dr. Young, Bishop of Rochester [a]. [*Viz. Both Orders were conferred by him.* H. W.] A.D. 1601.

[1] [Only the first letter of this word now legible.]

[2] [This line originally written before the entry relating to his father, but afterwards erased.]

[3] [This entry was originally omitted, and afterwards inserted in marg.]

[4] ['Palm Sunday:' inserted in marg.]

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[a] [The Bishopric of Oxford being then vacant. It continued so from the death of Bishop Underhill, May 1592, to the election of John Bridges, Jan. 4, 1603.]

A.D. 1602. I read a Divinity Lecture in St. John's College, *an.* 1602[b]. It was then maintained by Mrs. Maye[c]. I was the last that read it[d].

[1] Queen Elizabeth died at Richmond, Mar. 24, 1602. *comp. Angl.*

A.D. 1603. I was Proctor of the University; chosen May 4, 1603.

I was made Chaplain to the Earl of Devon, Septemb. 3, 1603[2].

Adjecta est spes mea de A. H. Jan. 1, 1603[3]. Which after proved my great happiness[e]. *Incæpi sperare*, Januar. 21, 1600. *comp. Angl.*

Hope was given to me of A. H. Jan. 1, &c. I first began to hope it, Jan. 21, &c.

A.D. 1604. I was Bachelor in Divinity, Julii 6, being Friday, 1604[f].

My cross about the Earl of Devon's marriage[4], Decemb. A.D. 1605. 26, 1605[g].

[1] ['Jacobus Rex' inserted in marg.] [2] [This entry in marg.]
[3] [After this a word erased.] [4] [Opposite this entry an "X" in marg.]

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[b] [He held at the same time Case's Exhibition for Students in Divinity. Wood, Hist. of Colleges, &c. p. 540.]

[c] [Mrs. May was the widow of Rich. May, Merchant Tailor. Her daughter Joan married Sir W. Herrick, to whom Laud addressed a letter when President of St. John's, respecting the repairs of the College. See Nichol's Leicestersh. vol. iii. pp. 150, 151. 163. The letter will be found in vol. vi. of this Edition.]

[d] [It was, probably, in reading this Lecture that he maintained the constant and perpetual visibility of the Church of Christ through the Church of Rome and not through obscure sects, (Heylin, Cypr. Angl. p. 49,) which brought on him the opposition of Abbot.]

[e] [See Prynne's Remark on this passage, and the Archbishop's reply, at the end of the Diary.]

[f] [Prynne, Breviate, p. 2, remarks: "His supposition, when he answered in the Divinity Schools for his degree, concerning the efficacy of Baptism, was taken *verbatim* out of Bellarmine; and he then maintained there could be no true Church without Diocesan Bishops; for which Dr. Holland (then Doctor of the Chair) openly reprehended him in the schools for a seditious person, who would reimbark the Reformed Protestant Churches beyond the seas, and now sow division between us and them, who were brethren, by this novel popish proposition." When the former of these charges was urged against the Archbishop at his trial, he replied that he had his supposition then by him, "and if any tenet of that question be the same with Bellarmine's, or that there be any line taken out of him, but what I cite for my own advantage against him, I will utterly forfeit my reputation of any learning to your lordships." (Hist. of Troubles, p. 380 in marg.) He had before stated (ibid.) that Abbot approved his opinion, and that the grace for his degree passed without any opposition.]

[g] [The circumstance here alluded to is explained above, p. 81. His participation in the affair ever weighed heavily on Laud's mind. It must be remembered, in extenuation of his conduct, that such marriages were by many divines considered lawful. See Bp. Cosin's 'Argument on the Dissolution of Marriage.' (Works, vol. iv.) A paper by the Earl of Devonshire in defence of his marriage is preserved

The quarrel Dr. Ayry [h] picked with me about my Sermon at St. Mary's, Octob. 21, 1606. A.D. 1606.

I was inducted into the vicarage of Stanford in Northamptonshire, November 13, 1607 [i]. A.D. 1607.

The advowson of North Kilworth in Leicestershire given to me, April 1608. A.D. 1608.

My acquaintance with C. W. began.

in Lamb. MSS. Numb. 943. p. 47. Prynne, (Breviate, p. 2,) to make the matter more odious, speaks of Lady Rich as another man's wife, choosing to forget the fact of the divorce.]

[h] [Henry Airay, Provost of Queen's, and Vice-Chancellor that year. He had written a "Treatise on Bowing at the Name of Jesus," in which he condemned the practice. Wood gives the following account:—

"The business being bandied to and fro for several weeks, Mr. Laud cleared himself so much, that he avoided a public recantation in the Convocation, which most of the Heads of Houses and Doctors intended to be done; yet such was the report that they raised upon him, as if he was a Papist, or at least very popishly affected, that it was a scandal for any person to be seen in his company, or to give him the usual compliment or time of the day, as he passed the streets. Many were the censures that then passed upon him, as a busy and pragmatical person, and much upon that account did he at present suffer.

"All that I shall say more of this matter shall be from a letter of Thomas Earl of Dorset, Chancellor of the University, to his Vice Chancellor, Dr. Airay, dated 24 of December this year (1606), which, speaking much in commendation of the person we now speak of, I cannot without guilt of concealment omit it. 'And because I may deal as clearly with you as you have done with me, I will let you know both the way and the matter that moved me to write these my letters unto you, which is this: Mr. Dr. Paddie (lately of St. John's Coll.) in the same day wherein my letter to you was dated, came unto me, and informed me that a late Sermon was made by one Mr. Lawde of Oxford, a verie excellent learned man, (as he then termed him,) and of very honest and good conversation, at which Sermon (as he said) himself was present, and in his opinion heard nothing that might give any just cause of offence. Nevertheless he said that he was convented for the same before you once, and that it was purposed that he should be convented before you again on the Wednesday past of this week, which was within two days after his speech unto me. He said farther that some two or three very learned men about the Court had seen and considered of his Sermon, and had given approbation of the same. Finally he concluded, that he understood Mr. Lawd did mean, if you did proceed against him, to appeal from you, the which he doubted would be a scandal to the University, and minister matter to the world to bruit that we are there distracted, which he wished rather might be, that we are united. And as upon this information of his, being my good friend, a man religious, learned, and one whom I love and trust, I yeilded to his last motion, which was that I would take the cause into my own hands, and call two or three learned Divines, and so order and compound it as shall be thought fit. Only in this I differed from his desire, that I would rather move my Lord of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to joyne with me therein, than to call inferior Divines unto me. But now having received this information from yourself, who are the publick magistrate, and to whose declaration I ought to give much more information than unto any private, and being one whom I both love and trust, I am fully resolved to remit and remand the same cause to you again, leaving the whole course and proceedings therein to your judgment, learning, justice, &c."—Wood's Annals, ad an. 1606. pp. 289, 290.]

[i] [6 Nov. 1607, Will. Laud, cler. S. T. B. institutus ad vic. perpet. eccl. paroch. de Stanford, ad pres. Tho. Cave, mil. per resign. Rob. Waller, ult. incumb.; resign. ante 2 Dec. 1609. *Reg. Dove, Ep. Petrib.* Kennet, apud Wood, Ath. vol. iii. p. 121.]

A.D. 1608. I proceeded Doctor in Divinity in the Act, *anno* 1608[k].

I was made Chaplain to Dr. Neile, then Lord Bishop of Rochester, August 5, 1608.

After my unfortunateness with T. (whose death was in July, 1604,) the first offer in this kind that I had after was by M. Short, June 1606; then by P. B. not accepted.

A.D. 1609. My first Sermon to King James at Theobald's, Septemb. 17, 1609[1].

I changed my advowson of North Kilworth for West Tilbury in Essex[1]; to which I was inducted, Octob. 28, 1609, to be near my Lord of Rochester, Dr. Neile.

My next unfortunateness was with E. M.[2], Decemb. 30, being[3] Saturday, 1609[4]. A stay in this.

A.D. 1610. My Ld. of Rochester, Dr. Neile, gave me Cuckstone in Kent, Maii 25, 1610.

I resigned my fellowship in St. John's Coll. in Oxford, 3 Octob. 2, 1610, and left Oxford the 8th of the same month.

I fell sick of a Kentish ague, caught at my benefice, Novemb. 5, 1610, which held me two months.

I left Kuckstone, and was inducted in Norton, Novemb. 1610, by proxy[5].

In the midst of this sickness, the suit about the Presidentship of St. John's began[m].

The Lord Chancellor Elsmere's[n] complaint against me to the King at Christmas, 1610. He was incited against me by Doctor Abbot[o], Lord Archbishop of Canterbury elect[p].

[1] [The whole passage from 'The quarrel' (see previous page), to 'Septemb. 17, 1609.' worn out of MS.]
[2] [A word here erased.]
[3] [Opposite this entry in marg. 3 $\frac{x}{2}$]
[4] [A word here erased.]
[5] [This entry added in marg.]

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[k] ['June 6.' Wood, F. O. i. 327.]
[l] [1609, 26 Oct. Will. Laud cler. admiss. ad eccl'iam de West Tilbury, per resign. Joh. Boake S. T. B. ad pres. regis. *Reg. Bancroft, Ep. Lond.* Kennet, apud Wood, Ath. vol. iii. p. 121.]
[m] [About to be vacated by the promotion of Dr. John Buckeridge to the see of Rochester, elected Dec. 29, consecrated June 9, 1611. That see had been vacant ever since the previous October.]
[n] [Thomas Egerton, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Lord High Chancellor.]
[o] [George Abbot, nominated to the see of Canterbury March 4, 1610–11; elected by the Chapter, March 18. Bancroft died Nov. 2, 1610. It was expected that Bp. Andrewes would have succeeded. (Heylin, Cypr. Angl. p. 59.)]
[p] [Heylin writes (Cypr. Angl. p. 56): "He (Abbot) made great complaints against him to Thomas Lord Elsmer (Ellesmere) . . . insinuating to him, 'That he was at least a Papist in heart, and cordially addicted unto Popery; that he kept company with none but profest and suspected Papists, and that if he were suffered to have any place of government in the University, it

My next unfortunateness was by S. B., Feb. 11, 1611. It continued long[1]. A.D. 1611.

I was chosen President of St. John's, May 10, 1611[q].

The King sat in person three hours to hear my cause about the Presidentship of S. John's, at Tichburne, Aug. 29, 1611[r]. It was *Dies Decollat. S. Joh. Bapt.*[s] The Archbishop of Canterbury was the original cause of all my troubles[2].

I was sworn the King's Chaplain, Novemb. 3, 1611.

My next unfortunateness was by S. S., June 13, 1612. It ended quickly. A.D. 1612.

My next with A. D., which effected nothing, and ended presently, Septemb. 1612[3].

My great business with E. B. began Januar. 22, 1612. It settled as it could, March 5, 1612, *comp. Angl.* It hath had many changes; and what will become of it, God knoweth.

My great misfortune by M. S. began April 9, 1614. A.D. 1614.

A most fierce salt rheum in my left eye, like to have endangered it.

Dr. Neile, then Bishop of Lincoln, gave me the Prebend of Bugden, April 18, 1614.

Dr. Neile, the Bishop of Lincoln, gave me the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon, Decemb. 1, 1615[t]. A.D. 1615.

The King gave me the Deanery of Gloucester, Novemb. 1616. A.D. 1616.

I resigned my parsonage of West Tilbury[4][u].

I set forward with the King toward Scotland, March 14, 1616[x], *Stilo nostro;* and returned a little before him, 1617.

[1] [In marg. 'S. B. x.'] [2] ['The . . . troubles.' in marg.]
[3] [Part of this entry lost in MS.]
[4] ['My great business . . . West Tilbury.' lost in MS.]

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would undoubtedly turn to the great detriment of religion and dishonour of his Lordship.' The Chancellor hereupon makes his address to the King, . . . which was like to have destroyed his hopes to that design . . . if Bishop Neile . . . had not acquainted his Majesty with the abilities of the man, and the old grudge which Abbot had conceived against him."]

[q] [See his own account of the proceedings at the election in his "Answer to the Speech of Lord Say and Sele," p. 474. in marg.]

[r] [The case had been already heard by the Bishop of Winchester, and a detailed account of the examinations taken before him is preserved in Lamb. MSS. Numb. 943. p. 55, which is followed by the Bishop's determination, and a letter of Dr. Nowell on the same subject, (ibid. pp. 57–59.)]

[s] [See Prynne's remark, Cant. Doom, p. 120.]

[t] [He resigned this office on his promotion to the See of S. David's.]

[u] [1616, 21 Dec. Nich. Cliffe S.T.B. admiss. ad eccl'iam de West Tilbury per resign. Will. Lawde S.T.P. ad pres. regis. *Reg. King.* Kennet, apud Wood, Ath. Ox. vol. iii. p. 122.]

[x] [He was in attendance, as Chaplain, on Bp. Neile, who, with Bishops Montagu and Andrewes, accompanied

A.D. 1616. My acquaintance began with W. Sta. March 5, 1616, *comp. Angl.*

A.D. 1617. E. B.[y] July 28, 1617. *primo*[1].

I was inducted to Ibstock, in Leicestershire, Aug. 2, 1617, in my return out of Scotland; and left Norton.

St. John's College on fire under the staircase in the Chaplain's chamber, by the library, Septemb. 26, 1617[z].

A.D. 1618. *Lu. Bos.* B. to E. B. May 2, 1618. *Et quid ad me*[2]*?*

My ill hap with E. Beg. June 1618[3].

The great organ in St. John's Chapel set up[a]: it was begun Feb. 5, 1618, *comp. Angl.*

A.D. 1619. I fell suddenly dead for a time at Wickham, in my return from London, April 2, 1619.

A.D. 1620. I was installed Prebend of Westminster, Januar. 22, 1620[b], *comp. Angl.*, having had the advowson of it ten years the November before.

A.D. 1621. June 3. The King's gracious speech unto me, June 3, 1621, concerning my long service. He was pleased to say, he had given me nothing but Gloucester, which he well knew was a shell without a kernel[c].

June 29. His Majesty gave me the grant of the Bishopric of St. David's, June 29, being S. Peter's day. The general expectation in Court was, that I should then have been made Dean of Westminster[d], and

[1] ['E. B. . . . primo.' in marg.] [2] [At this an 'x' in marg.]
[3] [Added in marg. with 'x' before it.]

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the King. The Scotch were much scandalized at his wearing a surplice at the burial of one of the King's Scotch guard, who died at Edinburgh. See Nichols's Progresses of K. James, vol. iii. p. 344.]

[y] [Prynne observes on this entry (Breviate, p. 30):—"After this he lapsed into some other special sin (perhaps uncleanness) with E. B." See the prayer on this occasion, above, p. 81, and the Archbishop's answer to this accusation at the end of the Diary.]

[z] [Prynne remarks, (Breviate, ibid.) "He was very likely to have been burnt by fire in St. John's College in Oxford, for his sins." See the prayer on this occasion, above, p. 82.]

[a] [This organ most remarkably escaped destruction in the great Rebellion, and was in use till the year 1768. Sir William Paddy by will provided the salary of the organist, and endowed the choral service.—Wood's Hist. of Colleges and Halls, pp. 541. 554.]

[b] [Prebendary of the eighth Stall. (Wood, Ath. Ox. vol. iii. p. 122.) Both Newcourt and Le Neve give the name erroneously, '—Rand.']

[c] [June 19, 1621, he preached before the King at Wanstead, on Ps. cxxii. 6, 7. Chamberlain writes to Sir D. Carleton: "Herewithal I send you a sermon of Dr. Laud's, on the King's birthday, because it is after the manner the Bp. of Winchester's preaching."—Birch's Court of James I. vol. ii. p. 270. This is the first of his published Sermons.]

[d] [Williams applied for the Bishopric of London, then vacant by the

not Bishop of S. David's. The King gave me leave A.D. 1621.
to hold the Presidentship of St. John Baptist's College in Oxon, in my *commendam*, with the Bishopric of St. David's[e]. But by reason of the strictness of that statute, which I will not violate, nor my oath to it, under any colour, I am resolved before my consecration to leave it[f].

Oct. 10. I was chosen Bishop of St. David's, Octob. 10, 1621.

I resigned the Presidentship of St. John's in Oxford, Novemb. 17, 1621[g].

I preached at Westminster, Novemb. 5[1].

Nov. 18. I was consecrated Bishop of St. David's, Novemb. 18, 1621[h], at London-house Chapel, by the Reverend Fathers, the Lords Bishops of London[i], Worcester[k], Chichester[l], Ely[m], Llandaff[n], Oxon[o]; the Archbishop being thought irregular, for casual homicide[p].

Jan. 6. The Parliament, then sitting, was dissolved by proclamation, without any session[q].

Jan. 14. The King's letters came to the Archbishop, and all the Bishops about London, for a contribution of the Clergy toward recovery of the Palatinate[r].

Jan. 21. The Archbishop's letters came to me about this business.

Jan. 25. I sent these letters and my own into the diocese.

[1] ['I . . . 5.' added in marg.]

death of Bp. King, offering to give up the Deanery of Westminster. (See Collection of Orig. Letters, vol. i. p. 52. Letter xix. Lond. 1755.) Failing in this, he wished to retain his Deanery with the see of Lincoln. This may explain his earnestness in Laud's behalf, of which Hacket (Life of Williams, pp. 63, 64,) gives a detailed account, attributing his conduct to disinterested motives; which seems, at least, doubtful.]

[e] [The dispensation is dated Nov. 8, 1621. See Rymer, Fœd. VII. iii. pp. 214, 215.]

[f] *This clause is maliciously omitted by Prynne.* H. W.

[g] Hence may be corrected an error of Dr. Heylin, and others who following him relate, that Dr. Laud held the Presidentship of St. John's *in commendam* with the Bishopric of St. David's. H. W.

[h] [Davenant, Williams, and Cary, were consecrated at the same time Bishops of Salisbury, Lincoln, and Exeter.]

[i] [George Montaigne.]

[k] [John Thornborough.]

[l] [George Carleton.]

[m] [Nicholas Felton.]

[n] [Theophilus Field.]

[o] [John Howson.]

[p] [For killing Lord Zouche's keeper in Bramzil Park. The pardon of the Archbishop and his Dispensation for irregularity were granted on the 22d of November. See a copy of the Dispensation in Collier, Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. Records, numb cviii.]

[q] [See Rymer, Fœd. VII. iii. p. 222.]

[r] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 60.]

A.D. 1621. Feb. 17. I preached at Westminster[s]. All my former sermons are omitted[1].

Mar. 9. I heard of the death of L. B. He died Januar. 17[2], between six and seven in the morning.

Mar. 18. Dr. Theodore Price[t] went towards Ireland out of London, about the Commission appointed there[u].

Mar. 24. I preached at Court: commanded to print[x].

An. 1622.

April 13. The King renewed my *commendam*[y].

April 16. I was with his Majesty and the Prince's Highness, to give notice of letters I received of a treasonable sermon preached in Oxford, on Sunday, April 14, by one Mr. Knight, of Broadgates[z].

April 14. Sunday, I waited at the entertainment of Count Swartzenburge, the Emperor's ambassador, in the Parliament House[a].

April 23. Being the Tuesday in Easter week, the King sent for me, and set me into a course[b] about the Countess of Buckingham[c], who about that time was wavering in point of religion.

[1] ['All . . . omitted.' inserted between lines.]
[2] [This date put also in marg. in ( ).]

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[s] [Septuagesima Sunday.]

[t] [Subdean of Westminster, and Preb. of Winchester. Prynne states (Cant. Doom, p. 355) that Laud wished to promote him to a Welsh Bishopric (St. Asaph), but that Dr. Owen was preferred in his stead. Fuller also informs us (Church Hist. lib. xi. sect. vi. § 17.), that Williams endeavoured to make him Archbishop of Armagh, and that he died a professed Romanist. Heylin (Examen Hist. num. 332, p. (2)74.) regards this latter story as a fabrication intended to injure Archbishop Laud. But the statement is confirmed by Hacket (Life of Williams, par. ii. p. 97), who gives a detailed account of his being reconciled on his death-bed to that Church.]

[u] [For an inquiry into the state of the Irish Church. See the Commission in Rymer, Fœd. VII. iii. p. 231. It is dated March 20.]

[x] [The day of the King's accession. See his second Sermon, on Ps. xxi. 6, 7.]

[y] [The King presented him, March 25, 1622, to the rectory of Rudbackston, and April 12, permitted him further to hold in *commendam* the stall of Lambister, in the Coll. Church of Brecon, together with the stall in Westminster, and the rectory of Ibstock, spoken of in the former *commendam*.—Rymer, Fœd. VII. iii. pp. 230. 235, 236.]

[z] [Wood, in his Annals (ad an. p. 341), gives a full account of this sermon, and of the proceedings consequently adopted, both in the University, and by the King and Privy Council.]

[a]. [See a letter of Mede to Sir Martin Stuteville. Birch's Court of James I. vol. ii. p. 306.]

[b] All these passages concerning his conference with Fisher, and settling the Marquis and Countess of Buckingham in religion, are omitted by Prynne. H. W.

[c] [Mary, widow of Sir George Villiers, created Countess of Buckingham; now wife of Sir Thomas Compton, her third husband. Laud, in his defence

April 24. Dr. Francis White[d] and I met about this. A.D. 1622.

May 10. I went to the Court to Greenwich, and came back in coach with the Lord Marquis Buckingham. My promise then to give his Lordship the discourse he spake to me for.

May 12. I preached at Westminster.

May 19. I delivered my Lord Marquis Buckingham the papers concerning the difference between the Church of England and Rome, in point of salvation, &c.

May 23. My first speech with the Countess of Buckingham.

May 24. The conference between Mr. Fisher, a Jesuit[e], and myself, before the Lord Marquis Buckingham and the Countess his mother. I had much speech with her after.

June 9. Being Whitsunday, my Lord Marquis Buckingham was pleased to enter upon a near respect to me. The particulars are not for paper[f].

June 15. I became C. to my Lord of Buckingham. And

June 16. Being Trinity Sunday, he received the sacrament at Greenwich[g].

June 22, &c. I saw two books in folio of Sir Robert Cotton's. In the one was all the order of the Reformation in the time of Hen. VIII.; the original letters and despatches under the King's and the Bishops' &c. own hands. In the other, were all the preparatory letters, motives, &c. for the suppression of the abbeys: their suppression and value in the originals. An extract of both which books I have *per capita*.

July 5. I first entered into Wales.

July 9. I began my first visitation at the College in Brecknock, and preached.

on the first day of his trial, (Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xxii. p. 226. in marg.) observes,—"I brought the Lady, his mother, to the Church again, but she was not so happy, as to continue with us."]

[d] [Rector of S. Peter's, Cornhill; successively Dean of Carlisle, Bishop of Carlisle, Norwich, and Ely.]

[e] [A full account of Fisher is given in the Preface to the Conference, in vol. ii. of this Edition.]

[f] ["Therefore certainly some deep mystery of iniquity fit to be concealed." — Prynne, Cant. Doom, p. 416.]

[g] ["The Countess of Buckingham received on Sunday in the King's Chapel, with both her daughters (though they had received before) and some others; and for reward of her devotion and conformity, some say, she had a present of 2,000*l*."—John Chamberlain to Sir D. Carleton, June 22, 1622.—Birch's Court of James I. vol. ii. p. 316.]

A.D. 1622. July 24, 25. I visited at St. David's; and preached.

Aug. 6, 7. I visited at Carmarthen, and preached. The Chancellor and my Commissioners visited at Emlyn, July 16, 17; and at Haverfordwest, July 19, 20.

Aug. 15. I set forwards towards England from Carmarthen.

Sept. 1. My answer given to his Majesty about nine articles delivered in a book from Mr. Fisher the Jesuit[h]. These articles were delivered me to consider of, Aug. 28.

The discourse concerning them the same night at Windsor, in the presence of the King, the Prince, the Lord Marquis Buckingham, his lady[i], and his mother.

Sept. 18. *aut circiter*. There was notice given me, that Mr. Fisher had spread certain copies of the conference had between him and me, Maii 24, into divers recusants' hands[k].

Oct. . . . I got the sight of a copy, and in October made an answer to it.

Oct. 27. I preached at Westminster.

Dec. 12. My ancient friend, Mr. R. Peashall, died, *hora sexta matutina*[1]. It was Thursday, and *sol in Capri. Lucia Virgo*, in some almanacs a day before it; in some, a day after it.

Dec. 16. My Lord Marquis Buckingham's speech to me about the same key.

Dec. 25. I preached at St. Giles-without[1] Cripplegate[2].

I was three times with the King this Christmas; and read over to him the answer which I had made to Fisher, which he commanded should be printed; and I desired it might pass in a third person, under the name of R. B.[m]

[1] ['hora . . . matutina.' in marg.]
[2] ['December 25. . . . Cripplegate.' in marg.]

[h] [Fisher charged the English Church with nine remarkable errors, in answer to the nine points which the King had urged against the Church of Rome.]

[i] [Lady Katherine Manners, daughter and sole heir to Francis Earl of Rutland.]

[k] [Fisher's MS. account of the conference is incorporated in Dr. White's "Replie to Jesuit Fisher's Answere," &c. Lond. 1624.]

[l] [Buckeridge, Bp. of Rochester, was then incumbent.]

[m] [It appeared as an Appendix to White's "Replie." The initials are those of Richard Baylie, his chaplain, afterwards President of St. John's, Dean of Sarum, and his executor. The

Jan. 11. My Lord of Buckingham and I in the inner chamber at York House. A.D. 1622.

QUOD BEET DEUS SALVATOR NOSTER CHRISTUS JESUS.

Jan. 17. I received letter from E. B. to continue my favour, as Mr. R. P. had desired me.

Jan. 19. I preached at Westminster[n].

Jan. 27. I went out of London about the parsonage of Creeke, given me into my *commendam*[o].

Jan. 29. I was instituted at Peterborough to the parsonage of Creeke[p].

Jan. 31. I was inducted into Creeke.

Feb. 2. Being Sunday and Candlemas day, I preached and read the Articles at Creeke.

Feb. 5. Wednesday, I came to London. I went that night to his Majesty, hearing he had sent for me. He delivered me a book to read and observe. It was a tract of a Capuchin, that had once been a Protestant. He was now with the French ambassador. The tract was to prove that Christ's body was in two places at once, in the apparition to St. Paul. Acts ix.

Feb. 9. I gave the King an account of this book.

Feb. 9. Promovi Edmundum Provant Scotum in Presbyterum. Primogenitus meus fuit in Domino[1].

I ordained Edmund Provant a Scot Priest. He was my first-begotten in the Lord.

Feb. 17. Monday. The Prince and the Marquis Buckingham set forward very secretly for Spain[q].

Feb. 21. I wrote to my Lord of Buckingham into Spain.

[1] ['Feb. 9. . . . Domino.' in marg.]

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full title of the book is given in the present edition of the Conference, p. iii. note [a].]

[n] [Second Sunday after Epiphany.]

[o] [To which he had been presented by the King, Jan. 24. (Rymer, Fœd. VII. iv. p. 38.) The former *commendam* had allowed him to hold one additional benefice, besides those specially mentioned.]

[p] [29 Januar. 1622, Ep'us Petrib. instituit Dom. Gulielmum Ep'um Meneven. in rect. eccl. de Creeke ad pres. Jacobi regis, *Reg. Dove.* KENNETT, apud Wood, Ath. Ox. iii. 123.]

[q] [His knowledge of this secret expedition into Spain is urged against him by Prynne, as a proof that he favoured Popery. Cant. Doom, pp. 416, 417. Breviate, p. 14. See the Prayer used on this occasion, above, p. 76, and the Archbishop's reply to Prynne at the end of the Diary.]

A.D. 1622. Feb. 22. Saturday. I fell very ill, and was very suddenly plucked down in four days.

I was put into the Commission of Grievances[r]. There were in the Commission the Lord Marquis Buckingham[s], Lord Arundel[t], Lord Pembroke[u], Bishop of Winchester[x], and myself. The proclamation came out for this, Febr. 14[1].

March 9. Thomas Owen, Bat. of Arts, Deacon.

Mar. 10. And John Mitchel and he, Priests, March 10.

Mar. 23. I preached at Whitehall[y].

An. 1623.

Mar. 31. I received letters from my Lord of Buckingham out of Spain.

April 9. I received letters from my Lord of Buckingham out of Spain.

April 13. Easter-day, I preached at Westminster.

April 26. John Burrough, Master of Arts, Deacon and Priest.

May 3 and 16. My speech with E. B., and the taking off my jealousies about the great business.

June 1. Whitsunday, I preached at St. Bride's[z].

June 13. I received letters from the Duke of Buckingham out of Spain[a].

June 15. R. B. died at Stony Stratford; which what it will work with B. E. God in heaven knoweth; and be merciful unto me.

July 6. I preached at Westminster[b].

July 15. St. Swithin. A very fair day till towards five at night. Then great extremity of thunder and light-

[1] ['The . . . Feb. 14.' in marg.]

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[r] [See "A Proclamation declaring his Majesty's Grace to his Subjects for their Relief against Public Grievances." Rymer, Fœd. VII. iv. p. 43. The Commissioners were required to receive petitions concerning "any notable oppression, exaction, bribery, or other grievance."]

[s] [Now Lord High Admiral.]

[t] [Thomas Lord Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshall.]

[u] [William Earl of Pembroke, Lord High Chamberlain.]

[x] [Lancelot Andrewes.]

[y] [Fourth Sunday in Lent.]

[z] [Thomas Palmer was then Vicar. See his Life in Fuller's Worthies, and Lloyd's Memoirs.]

[a] [Sir Fr. Cottington had returned from Spain on the previous day.—Birch's Court of James I. vol. ii. p. 407.]

[b] [Fourth Sunday after Trinity.]

July 15. ning. Much hurt done. The lantern at St. James's house blasted. The vane bearing the Prince's arms, beaten to pieces. The Prince then in Spain. It was Tuesday; and their St. James's day, *Stilo novo* [c]. A.D. 1623.

Aug. 17. I received letters from the Duke of Buckingham out of Spain.

Aug. 31. I preached at Sunninge, with my Lord of Bristol [d].

Sept. 8. I was at Bromley [e]; and heard of the unfortunate passage between my friends there.

Oct. 3. Friday, I was with my Lord Keeper; to whom I found some had done me very ill offices. And he was very jealous of L. B.'s favour.

Oct. 6. The Prince and the Duke of Buckingham came to London from Spain. Monday. They landed at Portsmouth, Oct. 5 [1]. The greatest expression of joy by all sorts of people, that ever I saw [f].

Oct. 20. Thomas Blackiston, Batch. of Arts, Deacon.

Oct. 26. The fall of an house, while Drewrye the Jesuit was preaching, in the Blackfriars. About 100 slain. (It was in their account, Novemb. 5 [g].)

Oct. 31. I acquainted my Lord Duke of Buckingham with that which passed between the Lord Keeper and me.

Nov. 12. Wednesday night, a most grievous fire in Bread-street in London [h]. Alderman Cocking's [i] house, with others, burnt down.

Nov. 18. Tuesday night, the Duke of Buckingham entertained the two Spanish ambassadors; Don Diego de Mendoza, the extraordinary; and Don Carolos

[1] ['They . . . Oct. 5.' in marg.]

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[c] [See an account of this storm, Nichols, vol. iii. p. 411.]

[d] [Robert Wright, afterwards Bp. of Lichfield. It appears by the Register of the Dean of Sarum, that he was instituted to the Vicarage of Sonning, June 13, 1604.]

[e] [Bromley, near Stratford-le-Bow. Edm. Layfield, who married Laud's sister Bridgett, was probably at this time Incumbent. He was so in 1629. (Wood, F. O. vol. i. p. 427.)]

[f] [An account of the rejoicings in Nichols, vol. iii. p. 927.]

[g] [See an account of this disaster in Birch's Court of James I. vol. ii. pp. 426–431. A book was published immediately after, called the "Fatal Vespers," giving a detailed account of the circumstances. The house was occupied by the French Ambassador.]

[h] [See Birch's Court of James I. vol. ii. p. 433.]

[i] [Sir William Cockaine, Lord Mayor in 1619.]

A.D. 1623. Nov. 18. Columnas, the ordinary; and Mexia (I think his name was), ambassador from the Arch-dukes. One of the Extraordinary Ambassadors of Spain, Marquess Iniioca came not; because Mendoza and he could not agree upon precedency. His Majesty and the Prince were there. The Bishop of London[k] and myself waited upon the King[l].

Dec. 14. Sunday night, I did dream that the Lord Keeper was dead: that I passed by one of his men, that was about a monument for him; that I heard him say, his lower lip was infinitely swelled and fallen, and he rotten already.

This dream did trouble me.

Dec. 15. On Monday morning, I went about business to my Lord Duke of Buckingham. We had speech in the Shield Gallery at Whitehall. There I found, that the Lord Keeper had strangely forgotten himself to him; and I think was dead in his affections. 8

Dec. 21. I preached at Westminster.

Dec. 27. St. John's day, I was with my Lord Duke of Buckingham. I found, that all went not right with the Lord Keeper, &c. He sent to speak with me, because he was to receive the next day.

Dec. 30. I adventured to tell my Lord Duke of Buckingham, of the opinion generally held touching the commission of sending Sir Edward Coke, and some others, into Ireland, before the intended Parliament[m].

Jan. 3. I received my writ to appear in Parliament, Febr. 12. following.

[k] [George Montaigne, or Mountain; in 1627, Bishop of Durham.]

[l] [See a long account of this entertainment in Nichols, vol. iii. pp. 939–941.]

[m] [The Commission, on which Coke was nominated, was to inquire into the state of the Church in Ireland. (See Rymer, Fœd. VII. iv. p. 89.) It was no unusual practice at this time to appoint persons to Commissions in Ireland, who were likely to be troublesome at home; and this seems to be the light in which Sir E. Coke viewed his nomination on this occasion, as appears by his speech in the House of Commons, in April 1628; where this practice of sending persons out of the country on special commissions was alleged as a grievance. See Biogr. Brit. art. Coke, note W. pp. 1394, 1395; and Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 523. Respecting this very journey of Sir E. Coke, John Chamberlain writes to Sir Dudley Carleton: "The poor man sets a good face on it, and makes show to go cheerfully; but in secret tells his friends he never expects to see them again. Indeed, it is thought a hard journey for a man more than threescore and fourteen years old, and that never was at sea."—Birch's Court of James I. vol. ii. p. 448.]

Jan. 10. I received a command under seal from my Lord of London, to warn for the Convocation. A.D. 1623.

Jan. 10. I was with my Lord Duke of Buckingham; and showed him the state of the book printed about the Vis. of the Church, and what was like to ensue upon it[n].

Jan. 11. I was with his Majesty, to show him the Epistle, that was to be printed before the Conference between me and Fisher the Jesuit, Maii 24, 1622, which he was pleased to approve. The King brake with me about the book printed then of the Vis. of the Church. He was hard of belief, that A. B. C.[o] was the author of it. My Lord K. met with me in the withdrawing chamber, and quarrelled me *gratis*[1].

Jan. 12. I sent the summons down into the country to the Clergy, for their appearance at the Convocation.

Jan. 14. I acquainted my L. D. of B. with that which passed on the Sunday before, between the L. K. and me.

Jan. 16. I was all day with Doctor W.[p] about my papers of the Conference; and making them ready for the press.

Here is left a large void space [*of two and a half pages*] *in the original, to insert the occurrences of the eight following days; which space was never filled up.*

Jan. 25. Dies Solis erat. Ego solus, et nescio qua tristitia languens. Premebat anxium invidia J. L. et odium gratuitum. Sumpsi in manus Testamentum Novum Græco idiomate[2], pen-

It was Sunday. I was alone, and languishing with I know not what sadness. I was much concerned at the envy and undeserved hatred borne to me by the Lord Keeper. I took into my

[1] ['My Lord . . . gratis.' in marg.]
[2] ['Græco idiomate,' in marg.]

[n] ['A Treatise of Perpetual Visibility and Succession of the True Church in all Ages. Lond. 1624.' Abbot's name is not placed in the title-page, but his arms are prefixed.]
[o] [Arch-Bishop of Cant.]
[p] [Francis White.]

A.D. 1623. Jan. 25. sum diei ordine lecturus. Caput autem mihi occurrit ad Hebr. xiii: Ibi statim occurrit mihi mœrenti metuentique illud Davidis, Psal. lvi. 'Dominus mihi adjutor; non timebo quid faciat mihi homo.' Exemplum mihi putavi propositum; et sub eo scuto quis non tutus? Protege me, O Dominus Deus meus.

hands the Greek Testament, that I might read the portion of the day. I lighted upon the xiii. chapter to the Hebrews; wherein that of David, Psal. lvi., occurred to me then grieving and fearing: 'The Lord is my helper: I will not fear what man can do unto me.' I thought an example was set to me; and who is not safe under that shield? Protect me, O Lord my God.

Jan. 31. Commissio emissa sub m. Sigillo Angliæ me inter alios judicem delegatum constituit in causa dilapidationis[q] inter Rev. in Christo Patrem Rich. Neile[1], Dominum Episcopum Dunelm., et Franciscum James, filium et hæredem prædecessoris[r]. Huic commissioni inservivi ab hora secunda pomeridiana ad quintam. Dies erat Saturni. Locus camera magna, ubi Legum Doctores simul convivunt, vulgo dictus *'Doctors' Commons.'*

A commission, passed under the broad Seal of England, constituted me among others a judge delegate in a suit of dilapidation, between the Rev. Father in God Richard Neile, Lord Bishop of Durham, and Francis James, son and heir of his predecessor. I attended the execution of this commission from two to five o'clock in the afternoon on Saturday, in the great chamber at Doctors' Commons.

Feb. 1. Dies solis erat. Astiti illust. Principi Carolo

Sunday. I stood by the most illustrious Prince

[1] ['Rich. Neile,' in marg.]

[q] [This dispute must have been of long standing, as Neile became Bishop of Durham, Oct. 1617.]

[r] [Francis, son of William James, Bp. of Durham, by his third wife. His elder brother, William James, had died. (Wood, Ath. Ox. vol. ii, p. 203.)]

Feb. 1. prandenti. Hilaris tum admodum sibi conviva; multa obiter cum suis. Inter cætera, se, si necessitas aliquod genus vitæ imponeret, juristam esse non posse. Subjunxit rationes. 'Nequeo,' inquit, 'malam causam defendere, nec in bona succumbere.' Sic in majoribus succedas in æternum faustus, Serenissime Princeps.

Charles at dinner. He was then very merry; and talked occasionally of many things with his attendants. Among other things, he said, that if he were necessitated to take any particular profession of life, he could not be a lawyer; adding his reasons. 'I cannot,' saith he, 'defend a bad, nor yield in a good cause.' May you ever hold this resolution, and succeed (most Serene Prince) in matters of greater moment, for ever prosperous. A.D. 1623.

Feb. 4. Dies Mercurii erat. Colloquium cum Fishero Jesuita habitum, Maii 24, 1622, jussu Sereniss. Re: Jacobi scriptis mandatum, Regi ipsi antea perlectum[s], typis excudendum hodie traditur; cum approbatione Episcopi London.

Wednesday, my Conference held with Fisher the Jesuit, May 24, 1622, and put in writing at the command of King James, having been before read to the King, was this day put into the press; being licensed by the Bishop of London.

Nunquam antehac sub prelo laboravi. Nullus controversor. Et ita, oro, amet beetque animam meam Deus, ut ego bene et ad gloriam nominis Ejus sopitas

I had not hitherto appeared in print. I am no controvertist. May God so love and bless my soul, as I desire and endeavour, that all the never to be enough de-

[s] [The king had also had White's Reply to Fisher read over to him, as appears by a letter to Joseph Mede.—Birch's Court of James I. vol. ii. p. 435. Laud's Conference, it must be remembered, was first published at the end of this Reply.]

A.D. 1623. Feb. 4. cupio conorque Ecclesiæ nunquam satis deflendas distractiones.

plored distractions of the Church may be composed happily, and to the glory of His Name.

Invisi hodie Ducissam Buckinghamiæ. Ostendit mihi illa, bonitas ipsa, fœmina precum formulam. Hanc ei in manus dedit alia, mihi ne de nomine nota, mulier. Perlegi. Mediocra omnia : nihil egregium, nisi quod poesi similior canebat.

This day I waited on the Duchess of Buckingham. That excellent lady, who is goodness itself, showed me a form of devotions, which another woman, unknown to me, had put into her hands. I read it. All was mean in it: nothing extraordinary; unless that it was more like to poetry.

Feb. 6. Friday, my L. D. of B. told me of the reconciliation the day before made with the Lord Keeper.

Feb. 10. Shrove Tuesday, at the Commons, sentence in my L. of Durham's case[t].

Feb. 12. Thursday, the Parliament was to begin; but was put off to Monday the 16 of February.

Feb. 15. Sunday, at the Consecration of Dr. Harmer[u], Bishop of St. Asaph.

Feb. 16. Dies Lunæ erat. Dux Richmondiæ[x] subita paralysi correptus, mortuus est. Hoc fatum rejecit Parliamentum in 19 Februarii.

Monday. The Duke of Richmond, being seized suddenly with the palsy, died. This accident put off the Parliament to the 19 of February.

Feb. 18. Wednesday, my L. D. of B. told me of the reconciliation and submission of my L. K.; and that it was confessed unto him, that his favour to me was a chief cause. *Invidia quo tendis?* &c. *At ille de novo fœdus pepigit.*

[t] [See above, at Jan. 31.]

[u] [John Hanmer, Prebendary of Worcester, elected Bishop, Jan. 20. The name is written 'Harmer' in the MS.]

[x] [Esme Stuart, second Duke of Richmond, and Lord Steward. See Bp. Williams' letter, suggesting to Buckingham that he should take the vacant office.—Ellis's Orig. Letters, 3d Series, Letter 464, vol. iv. p. 191.]

Feb. 19. Thursday, The Parliament began. A.D. 1623.

Feb. 20. Friday, The Convocation began.

Feb. 22. Will. Fulwell made Deacon, Mr. of Arts, of Q. Coll. in Cambridge [1].

Feb. 24. Tuesday, The Duke of Buckingham's relation of the negotiation with Spain about the Prince's marriage, to both Houses of Parliament [y].

Feb. 29. Sunday, in the evening the D. Buc. coach overthrown between Exeter House and the Savoy. The Spanish ambassador lay there. No omen, I hope, more than that they thought to soil him. Secretary Conway [z] was in the coach with him. Mr. Bond came into the help, and told it me.

Mar. 7. Mid-Lent Sunday, I preached at Whitehall.

Mar. 14. Passion Sunday, I preached at Westminster.

Mar. 17. Lord Keeper his complimenting with me. Will. Fulwell, Priest [2].

Mar. 22. Monday, dismal day. The accident of my Lord of Rutland [a] giving *Not content* to the form consented to in the Parliament House, being the only voice dissenting.

Mar. 23. Tuesday, The censure of Morley [b], Waterhouse, and the printer, about the petition against my Lord Keep.

11 That afternoon the K. declared to the committee, that he would send a messenger presently into Spain, to signify to that king that his Parliament advised him to break off the treaties of the match and the Palatinate, and to give his reasons of it; and so proceed to recover the Palatinate as he might [c].

Bonfires made in the city by the forwardness of

[1] ['Will. Fulwell . . . Cambridge.' in marg.]
[2] ['Will. Fulwell . . . Priest.' in marg.]

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[y] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. pp. 119–125.]

[z] [Edward Conway, created March 22, 1624, Baron Conway, and afterwards Viscount Killulta, and Conway.]

[a] [George Manners, 7th Earl of Rutland. The vote of the House was in justification of the Duke of Buckingham's relation.]

[b] [See Hacket's Life of Williams, par. i. p. 191.]

[c] [The King's speech is given in Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 129—131.]

A.D. 1623. the people, for joy that we should break with Spain. *O quoties tenuit me illud,* Psal. lxvii. 31. *Dissipa gentes, quæ bella volunt:* sed spero, quia coacti [1].

Mar. 24. Wednesday, *Initium Regis Jacobi.* The Earl of Oxford [d], practising a tilt, fell and brake his arm.

That night, *inter horas* 6 *et* 7, a great eclipse of the moon.

Mar. 25. Thursday, The recess of the Parliament for a week.

An. 1624.

Mar. 26. Good Friday, Viscount Mansfield [e], running at tilt to practise, with the shock of the meeting, his horse, weaker or resty, tumbled over and over, and brake his own neck in the place; the lord had no great harm. Should not this day have other employment?

Mar. 27. Saturday, Easter-even, my speech with my L. Duke of B. about a course to ease the Church in times of payment of the subsidy now to be given [f]. His promise to prepare both the King and the Prince [2].

Mar. 28. Easter-day, Richard Earl of Dorset died [g], being well and merry in the Parliament House on Wednesday the 24th.

Quam nihil est vita hominis? Miserere nostri.

His grandfather, Thomas Earl of Dorset, died suddenly at the council-table [h]. His grandmother rose well [i], and was dead before dinner. His father

[1] ['O quoties . . . coacti.' in marg.]
[2] [This entry inserted in a lower part of the page.]

[d] [Robert de Vere, 19th Earl of Oxford. He had been recently released from an imprisonment of twenty months. (Birch's Court of James I., vol. ii. p. 445.)]

[e] [William Cavendish, created Visc. Mansfield, Nov. 3, 1620; Earl of Newcastle, March 7, 1628; Marquess of Newcastle, Oct. 27, 1643, and Duke of Newcastle, March 1, 1664. He died 1676. He was actively employed on the King's side during the Great Rebellion.]

[f] [The Clergy in Convocation had voted four subsidies, being four shillings in the pound. Laud wished, for the sake of the poorer clergy, that the money should be paid by instalments.]

[g] [Third Earl of Dorset.]

[h] [Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, and first Earl of Dorset of the Sackville family, Chancellor of the Univ. of Oxford, Lord High Treasurer. He died April 19, 1608. His funeral sermon was preached by Archbishop Abbot, then Dean of Winchester. (Wood, Ath. Ox. vol. ii. p. 33.)]

[i] [Cicely, daughter of Sir John Baker, of Sisinghurst, Kent. She died Oct. 1, 1615.]

Robert lay not above two days[k]. And now this man. Sir Ed. Sack . . . . . [1] A.D. 1624.

Mar. 29. Easter Monday, I went and acquainted my L. Keep. with what I had said to my L. Duke. He approved it, and said it was the best office that was done for the Church this seven years. And so said my L. of Durham. They persuaded me to go and acquaint my Lord's Grace with what I had done. I went. His G. was very angry. Asked, what I had to do to make any suit for the Church. Told me, never any Bp. attempted the like at any time, nor would any but myself have done it. That I had given the Church such a wound, in speaking to any L. of the laity about it, as I could never make whole again. That if my L. Duke did fully understand what I had done, he would never endure me to come near him again. I answered: I thought I had done a very good office for the Church; and so did my betters think. If his G. thought otherwise, I was sorry I had offended him. And I hoped, being done out of a good mind, for the support of many poor vicars abroad in the country, who must needs sink under three subsidies in a year, my error (if it were one) was pardonable. So we parted.

I went to my L. Duke, and acquainted him with it; lest I might have ill offices done me for it to the King and the Prince.

12 . Sic Deus beet me servum suum, laborantem sub pressura eorum, qui semper voluerunt mala mihi.

So may God bless me his servant, labouring under the pressure of them, who alway wished ill to me.

April 16. Friday, My Conference with Fisher the Jesuit printed, came forth.

April 18. Sunday, I preached at Paul's Cross[l].

[l] [This entry first made before April 16, and then erased, and inserted here.]

[k] [He died Feb. 25, 1608-9.]

[1] [The brother of the deceased; afterwards Lord Chamberlain to Henrietta Maria, Lord Chamberlain to the King, Lord Privy Seal, and President of the Council. See his character in Clarendon, Hist. Rebell. vol. i. p. 104.]

A.D. 1624 April 27. Tuesday, My very good friend Dr. Linsell[m] cut for the stone, *circiter horam nonam ante meridiem.* [About nine o'clock in the forenoon.]

May 1. Saturday, E. B. married. The sign in Pisces.

May 5. Wednesday, Ascension-eve, the King's speech in the B. house at Whitehall, to the Upper House of Parliament, concerning the hearing of the Lord Treasurer's cause, which was to begin the Friday following[n]. This day my L. D. of Buc. came to town with his Majesty, sick. And continued ill till Saturday, May 22[1].

Maii 13. Thursday, Lionel Earl of Middlesex, L. Treas. of England, and Master of the Wards, censured in Parliament for bribery and extortion, and deceiving the King, &c. To lose his offices. To be ever disenabled to bear any. Fined to the King in 50,000*l.* Imprisoned in the Tower during the K.'s pleasure. Never to sit again as a peer in Parliament. Not to come within the verge of the Court.

Maii 15. Saturday, Whitsun-eve, The Bill passed in Parliament for the King to have York House in exchange for other lands[o]. This was for the L. D. of Buc.

Maii 16. Whitsunday night, I watched with my L. D. of Buck. This was the first fit that he could be persuaded to take orderly.

May 18. Tuesday night, I watched with my L. D. of Buck.: he took this fit very orderly.

May 19. Wednesday, The B. of Norwich, Sam. Harsnet[p], was presented by the House of Commons to the

[1] ['May 1 . . . May 22.' in marg.]

[m] [Dr. Augustin Lindsell, Preb. of Durham, afterwards successively Dean of Lichfield, Bishop of Peterborough, and Hereford. He died 1634. He was well read in the Fathers, and prepared for the press Theophylact on St. Paul's Epistles, published in 1636 by his Chaplain, Thomas Baily, afterwards Bishop of Killala. (Wood, F. O. vol. i. p. 360; Ath. Ox. vol. iv. p. 844.) Lindsell is expressly mentioned in the letter addressed by Laud to the King's printers, requiring them to establish a Greek press.]

[n] [See an account of the speech in a letter by John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton (Birch's James I., vol. ii. p. 455.)]

[o] [21 Jac. I. cap. 30, An Act to assure York House and other lands to the King, and to assure the Manors of Brighton, Santon, and other lands to the Archbishop of York. See an account of York House in Cunningham's Hand-Book of London.]

[p] [Bishop of Chichester on the promotion of Bishop Andrewes, elected Bishop of Norwich, June 16, 1619, and

Lords[q]. His cause was referred by the House to my Lord's G. of Cant. and the High Commission[1]. A.D. 1624.

Maii 22. Saturday, He missed his fit.

Maii 26. Wednesday, He went with his Majesty to Greenwich.

Maii 28. Friday, E. B. came to London. He had not leisure to speak with me (though I sent and offered to wait all opportunities) till June 16, being Wednesday[2].

Maii 29. Saturday, The first session of Parliament ended. And the prorogation was to the second of November.

Jun. 6. Second Sunday after Trinity, I preached at Westminster.

Jun. 8. Tuesday, I went to New-Hall[r] to my L. Duke of Buckingham, and came back to London on Friday, June 11.

Jun. 16. Wednesday, I took my lasting leave of E. B.

The great dry summer[3].

13 My dream Jun. 4, Wednesday night, 1623. In this dream was all contained, that followed in the carriage of E. B. towards me; and that night R. B. sickened to the death.

Maii 29. Saturday night, 1624. I was marvellously troubled with E. B. before they came to London. That there was much declining to speak with me; but yet at last I had conference, and took my lasting leave. And this so fell out, *respice ad Maii* 28. [see May 28.] This day the rain began after the greatest drowth that ever I knew in these parts; but it continued little[4].

Julii 7. Wednesday night, My L. of Durham's quarrel about the trifling business of Fr. N.

[1] ['Wednesday . . . High Commission.' in marg.]
[2] ['Friday . . . Wednesday.' in marg.]
[3] ['The . . . summer.' in marg.]
[4] ['This day . . . little.' inserted, but afterwards erased.]

Archbishop of York, Nov. 26, 1628. *Ob.* May 25, 1631.]

[q] [See Commons' Journals. He was charged, 1, with putting down preaching; 2, setting up images; 3, praying to the east, etc. The charges are given in full, and the Bishop's reply, in the Parliamentary History.]

[r] [The Duke's seat, near Chelmsford.]

A.D. 1624. Julii 23. Friday, I went to lie and keep house, and preach at my livings, held *in commendam*, Creek and Ibstock. That Friday night, at St. Albans, I gave R. R.[s], my servant, his first interest in my businesses of moment.

July 27. This I confirmed unto him, the Wednesday morning following, at Stanford.

Aug. 7. Saturday, while I was at Long Whatton with my brother[t], my passion by blood, and my fear of a stone in my bladder.

Aug. 8. Sunday, I went and preached at my parsonage at Ibstock, and set things in order there.

Aug. 26. Thursday, My horse trod on my foot, and lamed me: which stayed me in the country a week longer than I intended.

Sept. 7. Tuesday, I came to London.

Sept. 9. Thursday, my L. of Buckingham consulted with me about a man that offered him a strange way of cure for himself and his brother. At that time I delivered his Grace the copies of the two little books which he desired me to write out.

Sept. 16. Thursday, Prince Charles his grievous fall, which he had in hunting.

Sept. 25. Saturday, My L. D.'s proposal about an army, and the means, and whether Sutton's Hospital might not, &c.

Oct. 2. Saturday, in the evening, at Mr. Windebank's[u], my ancient servant, Adam Torless[v], fell into a swoon; and we had much ado to recover him; but I thank God, we did.

[s] [Richard Robinson. See Diary, Feb. 14, 1635.]

[t] [Dr. William Robinson, afterwards Archdeacon of Nottingham. There are several entries in the register of this parish relating to the Robinsons.]

[u] [Francis Windebank, the eldest son of Sir Thomas Windebank, of Haines Hill, in the parish of Hurst, Berks (see below). He was a college contemporary of the Archbishop, and promoted afterwards by his means to be Secretary of State, (see below, June 15, 1632,) about which time he was knighted. The favour shown by him to priests and other members of the Church of Rome is strongly urged against him by Prynne, (Hidden Works, pp. 122, seq.,) who makes use of this circumstance to swell the cry against the Archbishop. Articles were presented to Parliament against Windebank, Nov. 3, 1640, who managed to escape to France, where he died, Sept. 1, 1646. See an interesting note on the circumstances of his escape, in Wood, F. O. vol. i. pp. 290, 291.]

[v] [See Diary, Sept. 23, 1641.]

Oct. 10. Sunday, I fell at night *in passionem iliacam;* A.D. 1624. which had almost put me into a fever. I continued ill fourteen days[t].

Oct. 13. Wednesday, I delivered up my answer about Sutton's Hospital[w].

Nov. 21. Sunday, I preached at Westminster.

Dec. 6. Monday, There was a referment made from his Majesty to my Lord's G. of Cant.[x], my Lords of Durham[y] and Rochester[z], and myself, to hear and order a matter of difference in the church of Hereford, concerning a Residentiaryship, and the Lecturer's place; which we that day ordered.

Dec. 13. Monday, I received letters from Brecknock; that the saltpetre man was dead and buried the Sunday before the messenger came. This saltpetre man had digged in the college church for his work, bearing too bold upon his commission. The news of it came to me to London, about Novemb. 26. 14 I went to my L. Keep. and had a messenger sent to bring him up, to answer that sacrilegious abuse. He prevented his punishment by death.

Dec. 21. Tuesday, *Fest. S. Thomæ,* Mr. Crumpton had set out a book, called St. Aug. Summe[a]. His Majesty found fault with divers passages in it. He was put to recall some things in writing. He had dedicated this book to my L. Duke of Buckingham. My L. sent him to me to overlook the articles, in which he had recalled and explained himself, that I might see whether it were well done, and fit to show the King. This day Mr. Crumpton brought his papers to me.

Dec. 23. Thursday, I delivered these papers back to Mr. Crumpton. The same day at York House, I gave my L. Duke of Buckingham my answer, what I thought of these papers. The same day I de-

[t] ['I . . . days.' in marg.]

[w] [This is printed in vol. vi. from a copy in the Lamb. MSS. in the Archbishop's own hand.]

[x] [Abbot.]

[y] [Neile.]

[z] [Buckeridge.]

[a] [S. Austin's Sums; or, the Sum of S. Austin's Religion, &c. Lond. 1625. The author, William Crumpton, was at this time living at Little Kynbell, in Bucks. (Wood, Ath. Ox. vol. iii. p. 23.)]

A.D. 1624. livered my L. a little tract about Doctrinal Puritanism, in some ten heads, which his Grace had spoken to me that I would draw for him, that he might be acquainted with them.

Dec. 31. Friday, His Majesty sent for me, and delivered unto me Mr. Crumpton's papers, the second time, (after I had read them over to himself,) and commanded me to correct them, as they might pass in the doctrine of the Church of England.

Jan. 3. Monday, I had made ready these papers, and waited upon my L. Duke of Buckingham with them; and he brought me to the King. There I was about an hour and a half, reading them, and talking about them with his Majesty and my L. Duke. After this, I went to visit my sister, who lay then sick at London.

Jan. 5. Wednesday, My L. Duke of B. showed me two letters of, &c. the falsehood of, &c. That day, as I waited to speak with my L., Secretary Calvert fell in speech with me about some differences between the Greek and the Ro. Ch.[b] Then also, and there, a young man, that took on him to be a Frenchman, fell into discourse about the Church of England. He grew at last earnest for the Ro. Ch.; but *Tibi dabo claves,* and *Pasce oves,* was all he said, save that he would show this proposition in S. Aug.: *Rom. Ecclesia facta est caput omnium Ecclesiarum ab instante mortis Christi.* I believe he was a priest; but he wore a lock down to his shoulders. I heard after, that he was a French gentleman.

Jan. 15. Saturday, The speech which I had with my L. D. at Wallingford House.[c]

Jan. 21. Friday, The business of my L. Purbeck[d], made known unto me by my L. D.

[b] [George Calvert, then Secretary of State, created the following February Baron Baltimore, in Ireland. About this time he became Romanist. His son, Cecil Calvert, was the founder of the colony of Maryland.]

[c] [On the site of the present Admiralty.]

[d] [John Villiers, eldest brother of the Duke of Buckingham, created Viscount Purbeck, June 19, 1619. He married Frances, the youngest daughter of Sir Edw. Coke and Lady Hatton. The 'business' was her adultery with Sir Robert Howard, which had just come to light, in consequence of the birth of a son.]

Jan. 23. Sunday night[1], the discourse which L. D. had with me about witches and astrologers. A.D. 1624.

Jan. 25. Tuesday night, I acquainted my L. D. with my hard hap in my business with L. C. D.[e]; for which I had been so often blamed.

Jan. 28. Friday, I took my leave of my L. D. His wish that he had known K. L. sooner, but, &c.

Jan. 30. Sunday night, my dream of my Bl. Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. One of the most comfortable passages that ever I had in my life.

15 Feb. 12. Saturday, Mr. Thomas Atkinson[f], S. Jo., Deacon[2].

Feb. 13. Sunday, I preached at Westminster.

Mar. 5. Saturday, the High Commission sat first about Sir R. H. &c.[g]

Mar. 6. Sunday, the first in Lent, I preached at the Temple, at the reader's solemnity. The Duke of Buckingham and divers other lords there.

Mar. 13. Sunday, second in Lent, I ordained Robert Rockell Priest, Eleazar Dunkon[h] and Edward Quarles[i] Deacons. They were Masters of Arts of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge.

An. 1625.	*An.* 1625.
Mar. 27. Midlent Sunday, concionem habui in aula regia vulgo dicta Whit-Hall.	Midlent Sunday, I preached at White-Hall.

[1] ['Sunday night.' in marg.] [2] ['Feb. 12 . . . Deacon.' in marg.]

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[e] [Lord Charles Devon.]

[f] [Proctor of the University, 1629. (Wood, F. O. vol. i. p. 450.) See further mention of him in the account of King Charles's visit to Oxford in Laud's Chancellorship, p. 140.]

[g] [See a Letter from Sir T. Coventry and Sir Robert Heath to the Duke of Buckingham, concerning the proceedings against Sir Robert Howard and Lady Purbeck for adultery and sorcery, 24th February, 1624. Goodman's Court of King James, vol. ii. pp. 376—378.]

[h] [Chaplain to Bp. Neile, and Prebendary of Durham, ejected in the Great Rebellion. (Walker's Sufferings, par. ii. p. 20.) During this time he resided partly at Saumur, and partly at Paris, and was one of the persons who was selected in 1655 for consecration to the Episcopate. See Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. Append. p. ci. Oxford, 1786, and Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 249. Lond. 1816. He was brother to Edmund Duncon, who was with George Herbert on his death-bed, and to whom we are indebted for the publication of the "Country Pastor." (See Barnabas Oley's Preface.)]

[i] [Scholar on Dr. Watts's Foundation. (Wilson's Merchant Tailors' School, p. 558.)]

A.D. 1625. Mar. 27. Turbatus et tristissimis temporibus ascendi suggestum, rumoribus tum prævalentibus Regem serenissimum Jacobum, et sacratissimæ mihi memoriæ, mortuum esse. Avocatus doloribus Ducis Buckinghamiæ, sermonem abrupi medio.

I ascended the pulpit, much troubled, and in a very melancholy moment, the report then spreading that his Majesty King James, of most sacred memory to me, was dead. Being interrupted with the dolours of the Duke of Buckingham, I broke off my sermon in the middle.

Mortuus est Rex Theobaldi, quum tempus numerasset tres quartas ultra horam undecimam antemeridianam, religiosissime et constantissima fide intrepidus emisit animam beatam[j].

The King died at Theobald's, about three quarters of an hour past eleven in the forenoon. He breathed forth his blessed soul most religiously, and with great constancy of faith and courage.

Eo die horam circiter quintam, proclamatione Carolus Princeps, quod faustum fœlixque sit, Rex promulgatur.

That day, about five o'clock, Prince Charles was solemnly proclaimed King. God grant to him a prosperous and happy reign.

Ægrotare incœpit Rex, Mar. 4, die Veneris. Morbus, qui apparuit tertiana febris. Sed vereor repercussam medicinis a pedi-

The King fell sick, March 4, on Friday. The disease appeared to be a tertian ague. But I fear it was the gout, which

[j] [See Bp. Williams's account of the King's last sickness and death, in the Sermon preached at his Funeral. He specifies particularly the King's earnest desire to receive absolution, and his belief in the power of the Clergy of the English Church to confer it. Sir William Paddy, his Majesty's physician, has recorded a memorandum of his last visit to the King, and of the prayers used by the Bishop in a folio Book of Common Prayer, bequeathed by him to St. John's College, Oxford. Bishop Andrewes, whose attendance the King earnestly called for, was unable to be present, by reason of his own illness. See Nichols's Progresses, vol. iii. pp. 1029—1032.]

bus ad interiora podagram.

by the wrong application of medicines was driven from his feet to his inward vital parts. A.D. 1625.

Apr. 1. Die Veneris, accepi literas a Comite Pembrochiæ, Camerario Regio, in iis mandatum sereniss. Re. Caroli de concione per me habenda in Comitiis Parlamentariis coram ipso et proceribus regni, Maii 17, proxime futuro [k].

16

Friday, I received letters from the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain to the King, and therein a command from his Majesty King Charles, to preach a sermon before himself and the House of Peers in the session of Parliament to be held on the 17 day of May next following.

Apr. 3. Die Solis, dedi in manus Ducis Buckinghamiæ, Annotationes breves in Vitam et Mortem augustissimi Regis Jacobi; quas jussit ut describerem [l].

Sunday. I delivered into the Duke of Buckingham's hands my short Annotations upon the Life and Death of the most august King James, which he had commanded me to put in writing.

Apr. 5. Die Martis, schedulam exhibui, in qua nomina erant virorum Ecclesiasticorum sub literis O. et P. Nomina ut sic digererem jussit ipse Dux Buckinghamiæ, traditurus ea (ut dixit) Régi Carolo.

Tuesday, I exhibited a schedule, in which were wrote the names of many Churchmen, marked with the letters O. and P. The Duke of Buckingham had commanded to digest their names in that method; that (as himself said) he might deliver them to King Charles.

Apr. 9. Die Sabbati, mihi omnibus nominibus colendissimus Dux Bucking-

Saturday, the Duke of Buckingham, whom upon all accounts I am bound

[k] [See below, June 19.]

[l] [Published in vol. vi.]

A.D. 1625. April 9. hamiæ certiorem me fecit: aliquem ex nescio qua invidia nomen meum denigrasse apud serenissimam Majestatem Caroli. Causa arrepta ex errore, in quem nescio quo fato olim in causa Caroli Comitis Devoniæ, Decemb. 26, 1605, incidi [1].

for ever to honour, signified to me that a certain person, moved through I know not what envy, had blackened my name with his Majesty King Charles, laying hold for that purpose of the error into which, by I know not what fate, I had formerly fallen in the business of Charles Earl of Devonshire, 1605, Decemb. 26.

Eodem die in mandatis accepi, ut Reverendum Episcopum Wintou.[m] adirem, et quid velit in causa Ecclesiæ sciscitarer; responsumque referrem, præcipue in Quinque Articulis, &c.

The same day I received in command to go to the Right Reverend the Bishop of Winchester, and learn from him what he would have done in the cause of the Church, and bring back his answer, especially in the matter of the Five Articles, &c.

Apr: 10. Die Solis post concionem finitam adii Episcopum, qui tum in camera sua in aula regia erat [n]. Protuli quæ accepi in mandatis. Responsum dedit. Simul inde invisi [o], ut preces in Domo Somersetensi audituri. Audimus. Postea ibi in-

Sunday, after sermon was done, I went to the Bishop, who was then in his chamber at court. I acquainted him with what I had received in command. He gave to me his answer. From thence we went together to hear prayers in Somer-

[1] [The passage was originally written thus, but afterwards erased:—'Non tam lapsus, quam nescio quo fato ductus sum, suasus impulsu Comitis Devoniæ, Decemb. 26, 1605, sacramentum honoris sui non satis fideliter persecutus, nescio quo fato.']

[m] [Andrewes.]

[n] [As Dean of the Chapel Royal.]

[o] L. 'ivimus.' H. W.

visimus corpus nuperrimi Regis Jacobi, quod ibi expectabat adhuc diem funeris.

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set House. Having heard prayers, we afterwards saw there the body of the late King James, which rested there till the day of his funeral rites.

A.D. 1625.

April 13. Die Mercurii, retuli ad Ducem Buck. quid responderit Episcopus Winton.

Wednesday, I brought back to the Duke of Buckingham the answer of the Bishop of Winchester.

Eodem tempore certiorem me fecit de Clerico, qui Regi erat a Conclavi, Venerando Ep. D.[p] quid statuerat Re., et de successore.

At the same time the Duke made known to me what the King had determined concerning his Clerk of the Closet, the Right Reverend the Bishop of Durham, and about his successor in that office.

April 17. Die Paschatis, ægrotante Episcopo Dunelm. assignatus fui (sed petitione dicti Episcopi) ab Illustr. Comite Pembr. Domi Camerario, ut inservirem Regiæ Ma. loco Clerici a Conclavi; quod munus præstiti ad Maii primum.

Easter-day, the Bishop of Durham being sick, I was appointed (but at the desire of the said Bishop) by the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain of the Household, to wait upon his Majesty in the quality of Clerk of the Closet; which place I executed till the first of May.

April 23. Burton[q] scriptum tradidit Regi[r].

Burton presented his paper to the King.

[r] [Inserted afterwards.]

[p] [Rich. Neile.]

[q] [Henry Burton had been Clerk of the Closet to Prince Henry and to Prince Charles. He expected to have been continued in office on the accession of the latter to the throne. The paper here mentioned was a letter pointing out to the King "how popishly affected were Dr. Neile and Dr. Laud, his continual attendants."

A.D. 1625. Maii 1. Conjugium celebratum Parisiis, inter Reg. sereniss. Carolum, et insignissimam Heroinam Henriettam Mariam Galliæ, Henrici Quarti filiam[r].

The marriage was celebrated at Paris between his Majesty King Charles and the most illustrious Princess Henrietta Maria of France, daughter of Henry IV.

Maii 7. Die Saturni, funus ducimus Jacobi Regis.

Saturday, we celebrated the funeral of King James.

Maii 11. Die Mercurii, primo mane Dux Buck. versus mare se transtulit; obviam iturus Reginæ Mariæ in Galliam[s].

Early in the morning the Duke of Buckingham went towards the seaside, to pass over into France to meet Queen Mary.

Dedi ad Ducem eo die literas, sed quæ properantem sequerentur.

I wrote letters to the Duke that day, which might follow after him. For he went in great haste.

Maii 17. Parliamentum rejectum est in Maii ult.[1]

The Parliament was put off till the last day of May.

Maii 18. Iter brevius suscepi cum fratre meo ad vicum Hammersmith; visurus ibi communes amicos. Dies erat Mercurii.

I took a short journey with my brother to Hammersmith, that we might there see our common friends. It was Wednesday.

Maii 19. Die Jovis, literas secundas misi ad Ducem Buck., tum paulisper morantem Parisiis.

Thursday, I sent letters the second time to the Duke of Buckingham, then staying for a while at Paris. 18

[1] [Inserted afterwards.]

(Wood, F. O. i. 349.) Burton's subsequent history will be noticed at length in vol. vi.]

[r] [The Duke de Chevereux acted as proxy for the King.]

[s] [See the comments of Prynne on this and other passages in the Diary relating to the French match, Cant. Doom, p. 417.]

Maii 29. Die Solis, literas tertias dedi in manus Episcopi Dunelm.: qui cum Rege iturus, traderet eas Duci Buck. ad littus applicanti.

Sunday, I gave a third letter into the hands of the Bishop of Durham, who was to attend the King, that he might deliver them to the Duke of Buckingham at his first landing. A.D. 1625.

Maii 30. Die Lunæ, Chelsey[t] profectus sum ad Ducissam Buckinghamiæ.

Monday, I went to Chelsey, to wait upon the Duchess of Buckingham.

Maii 31. Die Martis, Parliamentum secundo expectat initium Junii 13, die Lunæ.

Carolus Rex versus Doroberniam iter suscepit, obviam iturus Reginæ.

Tuesday, the Parliament was a second time put off, till Monday the 13th of June.

King Charles set forward toward Canterbury, to meet the Queen.

Junii 5. Die Pentecostes, mane instanter iturus ad sacra, literæ e Gallia a Duce clariss. Buckinghamiæ, in manus meas se dedere.

Whitsunday, in the morning, just as I was going to prayers, I received letters from France, from the most illustrious Duke of Buckingham.

Junii 6. Responsum dedi aurora proxima. Post datum responsum, Episcopus venerabilis L. Winton., et ego simul proficiscimur ad ædes Tusculanas, quas juxta Bromlye possidet Joh. Roffensis. Prandemus, redimus vesperi.

I wrote an answer next morning. After I had finished my answer, the Right Reverend Lancelot Lord Bishop of Winchester and I went together to the country house, which John Lord Bishop of Rochester hath by Bromley. We dined there, and returned in the evening.

Junii 8. Die Mercurii Chelsey profectus sum; sed frustratus redii.

Wednesday, I went to Chelsey, but returned with my labour lost.

[t] [The King, in 1627, granted Buckingham the old residence of Sir Th. More, at Chelsea, afterwards called Beaufort House. See Cunningham's Hand-Book.]

A.D. 1625. Junii 12. Die Solis, Sanctæ Trinitatis dies fuit[1], Regina Maria maria pertransiens, ad littus nostrum appulit circiter horam 7. vespertinam. Det Deus, ut hespera sit et felix stella orbi nostro.

Sunday, it was Trinity Sunday, Queen Mary crossing the seas, landed upon our shore about seven o'clock in the evening. God grant that she may be an evening and an happy star to our orb.

Junii 13. Die Lunæ, Parliamentum iterum expectans Regem, recedit in diem Sabbati, Junii .i. 18.

Monday, the Parliament waiting for the King's coming, adjourned again till Saturday, the 18th of June.

Junii 16. Die Jovis, Rex et Regina Londinum venerunt. Salutaverunt aulam ad horam quintam. Dies erat tristior, et nubibus operta. Quum jam ad Turrim Londinensem pervenerunt (nam aqua usi sunt pro curru) et eduxit Rex Reginam in exteriora cimbæ, ut videret et populum et urbem; magnus e cœlo cecidit imber, qui utrumque coegit in interiores recessus. Duravit imber, usque dum intrassent aulam, finemque accepit.

Thursday, the King and Queen came to London. They arrived at court at five o'clock. It 19
was ill weather, and the day cloudy. When they came by the Tower of London (for they came by water instead of coach) the King led out the Queen to the outside of the barge, that she might see the people and the city. But at the same time, a violent shower of rain falling down, forced them both to return into the inward part of the barge. The shower continued until they had entered Whitehall, and then ceased.

Junii 18. Dies Sabbati erat. Initium dedit primo sub serenissimo R. Carolo

Saturday. The first Parliament of King Charles, which had been

[1] ['Sanctæ . . . fuit,' inserted afterwards.]

Junii 18. Parliamento, toties dilato. Interfuere Dux de Shiveruz[u] et alii nobiles Galliæ, episcopus etiam[x], qui Reginæ inservivit. Metu pestilentiæ, quæ tum cœpit grassari, abstinuit Rex a pompa illius diei; ne populus in multitudinem confluereret. Et concio, quæ mihi imposita est habenda in Cathedrali Westmonasteriensi, in initiandis illis comitiis, rejecta est in Junii 19. diem proximum, .i. Dominicam primam post Trinitatem, quo die illam habui in sacello Aulæ Regiæ, quæ dicitur Alba[y].

so often put off, now began. There were present at the opening of it, the Duke of Shiveruz, with other French noblemen; a bishop also, who attended the Queen. For fear of the pestilence, which then began to be very rife, the King omitted the pomp usual upon that day, lest the great conflux of people should be of ill consequence. And the sermon, which had been imposed upon me to be preached in Westminster Abbey at the beginning of this session, was put off to the next day, that is, to June 19, first Sunday after Trinity, on which day I preached in the chapel at Whitehall. A.D. 1625.

Junii 20. Initium dedit Convocationi.

The Convocation began.

Junii 24. Festum fuit S. Joh. Bap. Rex jussit Archiep. Cant. cum sex aliis quos nominavit episcopis consilium inire de jejunio publico et precibus publicis, ut Deus misereatur nostri, dum grassari inciperet pestilentia, et cœlum supra modum nubilum minabatur fa-

Was the Feast of St. John Baptist. The King commanded the Archbishop of Canterbury, with six other bishops, whom he then named, to advise together concerning a public fast, and a form of prayer, to implore the Divine mercy, now that the pestilence

[u] [Chevereux.]
[x] [Du Plessis, Bishop of Mende. (See note to Sermon iv.)]
[y] [This is Sermon iv.]

A.D. 1625. Junii 24. mem ; et simul ut bearet classem jam mare petituram. Episcopi erant Londinens.[z1], Dunelmensis[a], Winton.[b], Norwicensis[c], Roffen.[d], Menevensis[e]. Quod factum fuit[f].

began to spread, and the extraordinary wet weather threatened a famine; and also to beg the Divine blessing upon the fleet now ready to put to sea. The bishops were London, Durham, Winchester, Norwich, Rochester, St. David's. This was done.

Junii 25. Die Sabbati, Episcopi simul omnes, qui tum præsentes erant, introducti sunt, ut osculo officii salutarent manus Reginæ Mariæ. Illa nos summa cum gratia accepit.

Saturday, All the bishops, who were then in town, were introduced together, that they might wait upon Queen Mary, and kiss her hand. She received us very graciously.

Julii 2. Die Sabbati, celebratum est Jejunium ab utraque Domo Parliamenti in exemplum totius regni[2].

Saturday, the Fast was kept by both Houses of Parliament, to set an example therein to the whole kingdom.

Julii 3. Die Solis, in somnis apparuit mihi sereniss. Rex Jacobus. Vidi tantum velociter prætereuntem. Hilari vultu fuit et sereno. In transitu

Sunday, in my sleep his Majesty King James appeared to me. I saw him only passing by swiftly. He was of a pleasant and serene

[1] ['Londinens,' inserted afterwards.]
[2] ['Die . . . regni.' inserted on opposite page.]

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[z] [Montaigne.] [a] [Neile.]
[b] [Andrewes.] [c] [Harsnet.]
[d] [Buckeridge.] [e] [Laud.]
[f] [The prayers appeared under the following title: "A forme of Common Prayer, together with an order of Fasting for the auerting of God's heauy Visitation vpon many places of this Kingdome, and for the drawing downe of his blessings vpon vs, and our Armies by Sea and Land. *The Prayers are to be read euery Wednesday during this Visitation.* Set foorth by His Maiesties Authority. ¶ Imprinted at London by *Bonham Norton* and *Iohn Bill*, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie. Anno 1625." See some of the Prayers from this Form, above, pp. 98, 99.]

me vidit, annuit, subrisit, et subito oculis meis subductus.

countenance. In passing he saw me, beckoned to me, smiled, and was immediately withdrawn from my sight. A.D. 1625.

Julii 7. Die Jovis, R. Mount. inductus est in Domum Parliamenti inferiorem, &c.[g]

Thursday, Richard Montague was brought into the Lower House of Parliament, &c.

Julii 9. Die Saturni, Placuit sereniss. Regi Carolo, intimare Domui illi, sibi non placere, quæ de Montacutio dicta ibi vel statuta fuere se inconsulto.

Saturday, it pleased his Majesty King Charles to intimate to the House of Commons, that what had been there said and resolved, without consulting him, in Montague's cause, was not pleasing to him.

Julii 11. Die Lunæ, Parliamentum translatum est Oxon., in diem primum Augusti[h].

Monday, The Parliament was prorogued to Oxford, against the first day of August.

Julii 13. Die Mercurii, quum mortui sint Londini priori septimana 1222, profectus sum rus in domum amicissimi Fran. Windebank. Iter mihi eo facienti obviam casu factus est Montacutius. Primus fui, qui eum cer-

Wednesday, there having died in the former week at London 1222 persons, I went into the country, to the house of my good friend Francis Windebank. In going thither, Richard Montague met me by chance.

[g] [Montague had made himself obnoxious to the Puritans by the opinions he had broached in his "New Gagg for an old Goose;" and maintained more strongly in his "Appello Cæsarem," against his opponents Yates and Ward, two lecturers of Ipswich, who assailed the former volume. For these opinions he was cited before the House, committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-arms, and required to find bail of 2,000*l.* for his appearance next session. He was released from prison on the royal interference; but it appears from a letter addressed by him to Buckingham, (MSS. Harl. 7000. Art. 106,) that the bond for his reappearance was not cancelled. On the 2d of August, a letter was addressed to the King in his favour, by the Bishops of Rochester (Buckeridge), Oxford (Howson), and St. David's (Laud), which is given in Heylin, Cypr. Angl. pp. 131, 132. The proceedings afterwards taken against him are noticed below.]

[h] [The Proclamation in Rymer, (Fœd. VIII. i. p. 108,) is dated July 12.]

A.D. 1625.

tiorem feci de Regis erga ipsum gratia, &c.

I was the first who certified him of the King's favour to him.

Julii 15. Die Veneris, Profectus sum Windlesoriam; negotia quædam mihi a vene. Episcopo Dunelm. commissa peregi. Redii ea nocte. Curia tum ibi.

Friday, I went to Windsor; and performed some business committed to my trust by the Right Reverend Bishop of Durham. I returned that night. The Court was there at that time.

Julii 17. Die solis, iterum Windlesoriam invisi. Regi inter prandendum astiti. Philosophica quædam discussa. Prandium postea in domo Episcopi Glocestrensis[i] comedi. Interfuit ibi Baro Vaughan[k] cum filio natu maximo. Proximo die unus e servis Episcopi, qui mensæ astitit, peste correptus est. Mihi cæterisque faveat Deus. Ea nocte redii, subito claudus, nescio quo humore in crus sinistrum delapso. Aut, ut existimavit R. An., ex morsu cimicum. Convalui intra biduum.

Sunday, I went again to Windsor. I stood by the King at dinner time. Some matters of philosophy were the subject of discourse. I dined. Afterwards I eat in the house of the Bishop of Gloucester. Baron Vaughan was there present, with his eldest son. The next day one of the Bishop's servants, who had waited at table, was seized with the plague. God be merciful to me and the rest. That night I returned, being become lame on the sudden, through I know not what humour falling down upon my left leg, or (as R. An. thought) by the biting of bugs[l]. I grew well within two days. 21

[i] [Godfrey Goodman, residing on his Canonry of Windsor, which he was allowed to hold *in commendam*. He was afterwards deprived for refusing to sign the Canons of 1640; and died in the communion of the Church of Rome. (Wood, Ath. Ox. vol. ii. pp. 863, 864.)]

[k] [John Vaughan, of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire, created Lord Vaughan in 1620, and Earl of Carberry, 1628. His son Richard was Jeremy Taylor's patron.]

[l] Al. chinches. H. W.

Julii 20. Die Mercurii, Jejunium publicum per totam Angliam[m].

Concionem ego habui in parochia de Hurst[n], ubi cum Magistro Windebanke commoratus sum.

Julii 21. Die Jovis, Invisi Rich. Harrison militem, et redii.

Julii. 24. Die Solis, Concionatus sum in parochia de Hurst.

Julii 29. Die Veneris, Oxonium ingressus sum.

Julii 31. Die Solis, In triclinio hospitii Presidentis Collegii D. Joh. Bapt. Oxon.[o] nescio quomodo cecidi; et læsum retuli humerum sinistrum et coxendicem.

Aug. 1. Die Lunæ, incœpit Parliamentum Oxonii. Statim fere magnus impetus fuit in Ducem Buckinghamiæ.

Aug. 12. Die Veneris, solutum est Parliamentum: populo non satis auscultante Regis propositis.

Aug. 15. Relapsus meus; nunquam infirmior, teste M. Dies erat Lunæ. Eodem

Wednesday, A public fast was held throughout all England. A.D. 1625.

I preached in the parish of Hurst; where I then abode with Master Windebanke.

Thursday, I visited Sir Richard Harrison, and returned.

Sunday, I preached in the parish of Hurst.

Friday, I entered into Oxford.

Sunday, I fell down, I know not how, in the parlour of the President's lodging at St. John's College, and hurt my left shoulder and hip.

Monday, The Parliament began at Oxford. Presently after the beginning of it, a great assault was made against the Duke of Buckingham.

Friday, The Parliament was dissolved: the Commons not hearkening, as was expected, to the King's proposals.

My relapse; I never was weaker, in the judgment of the physician.

[m] [See the Proclamation for this Fast, Rymer, Fœd. VIII. i. pp. 103, 104.]

[n] [The Incumbent appears, from the Register of the Dean of Sarum, to have been — Ryley.]

[o] [William Juxon.]

A.D. 1625.

dic iter suscepi versus Walliam.

It was Monday. The same day I began my journey towards Wales.

Aug. 21. Die Solis. Concionatus sum Brecon, ubi per biduum transigendis negotiis intentus commoratus sum.

Sunday. I preached 22 at Brecknock; where I stayed two days, very busy in performing some business.

Ea nocte in somnis visus est mihi Dux Buckinghamiæ in lectum meum ascendere; ubi multo erga me amore se gessit, post illam quiecm qua fessi admodum solent gaudere. Et visi etiam sunt mihi multi cubiculum intrare, qui hoc videbant.

That night, in my sleep, it seemed to me that the Duke of Buckingham came into bed to me; where he behaved himself with great kindness towards me, after that rest, wherewith wearied persons are wont to solace themselves. Many also seemed to me to enter the chamber, who saw this.

Non multis diebus antea in somnis visus sum videre Ducissam Buck., egregiam illam dominam, primo perplexam satis circa maritum, sed postea hilarem et gaudentem, quod metu abortionis liberata sit, ut debito tempore possit iterum esse mater.

Not long before, I dreamed that I saw the Duchess of Buckingham, that excellent lady, at first very much perplexed about her husband, but afterwards cheerful, and rejoicing that she was freed from the fear of abortion, so that in due time she might be again a mother.

Aug. 24. Dies erat Mercurii, et Festum St. Bartholomæi, in ædes proprias apud Aberguillye tutus (Deo gratiæ) perveni. Quum tamen bis eo die inter Aber-Markes et domum

Wednesday, and the Festival of St. Bartholomew, I came safely (thanks be to God) to my own house at Aberguilly. Although my coach had been twice

meam eversus sit currus meus. Prima vice ego in eo fui; posteriore vero vacuus fuit.

that day overturned between Aber-Markes and my house. The first time I was in it; but the latter time it was empty. A.D. 1625.

Aug. 28. Dies erat Solis, Consecravi capellam sive oratorium propriis sumptibus exstructum in domo mea communiter vocat. *Aberguillye House*.

Sunday, I consecrated the chapel, or oratory, which I had built at my own charge in my house, commonly called Aberguilly House.

Nomen indidi, Capella S. Joh. Baptistæ, in gratam memoriam Collegii S. Joh. Bapt. Oxon. cujus primo Socius, et dein Præses fui. Et hoc consulto feci. Intervenit autem aliud, non mali ominis spero, de quo nunquam cogitavi. Hoc fuit. Die Sabbati, vesperi immediate præcedente Consecrationem celebrandam, dum precibus eram intentus; nescio qui violenter in mentem meam irruit adesse diem decollationis S. Joh. Bap. Finitis precibus fasta consului. Reperio diem illum in diem Lunæ, 29 scilicet Augusti, non in diem Solis incidere. Optassem diem ipsum; sed gravisus sum, me Consecrationem solennem peracturum vigilia saltem

I named it the Chapel of St. John Baptist, in grateful remembrance of St. John Baptist's College in Oxford, of which I had been first Fellow, and afterwards President. And this I had determined to do. But another thing intervened (of no ill omen, as I hope) of which I had never thought. It was this: On Saturday, the evening immediately preceding the Consecration, while I was intent at prayer, I knew not how, it came strongly into my mind, that the day of the beheading of St. John Baptist was very near. When prayers were finished, I consulted the calendar. I found that day to fall upon Monday, to wit, the 29th of August, not

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A.D. 1625. Aug. 28. illius diei. Nam illa die serenissimus Rex Jacobus causam meam circa electionem in Præsidentem Collegii S. Joh. Bapt. Oxon. per tres integras horas ad minimum audivit, et me e manu inimicorum potentum justissime liberavit[p].

upon Sunday. I could have wished it had fallen upon that same day, when I consecrated the chapel. However, I was pleased that I should perform that solemn consecration at least on the eve of that festival. For upon that day, his Majesty King James heard my cause about the election to the Presidentship of St. John's College in Oxford, for three hours together at least; and with great justice delivered me out of the hands of my powerful enemies.

Sept. 4. Die Solis. Nocte sequente valde turbatus sum per insomnia. Totum me tenuit Dux Buckinghamiæ, servi et familia ejus; non satis ordinata omnia. Ducissa male se habens, evocat ancillas, et lectum petit. Det Deus meliora.

Sunday. The night following I was very much troubled in my dreams. My imagination ran altogether upon the Duke of Buckingham, his servants, and family. All seemed to be out of order: that the Duchess was ill, called for her maids, and took her bed. God grant better things.

Sept. 11. Die Solis, concionem habui apud Carmarthen, Judicibus tum præsentibus. Eadem nocte somniavi quod Dr. Theod.

Sunday, I preached at Carmarthen, the Judges being then present. The same night I dreamed that Dr. Theodore Price

[p] [See Prynne's comment on this passage, Cant. Doom, pp. 120, 121, where the deed of consecration is also given.]

Sept. 11. Priceus[q] monuit me de Ma. 3, et quod erga me infidus fuit, et patefecit omnia, quæ novit: et ut ideo caverem, neque amplius, &c.

admonished me concern- A D. 1625.
ing Ma. 3, and that he was unfaithful to me, and discovered all he knew: and that I should therefore take heed of him, and trust him no more, &c.

Postea de Sack. Crŏe[r], quod peste mortuus esset, quum non diu [antè [1]] cum Rege fuisset.

Afterwards, I dreamed of Sackville Crow, that he was dead of the plague, having not long before been with the King.

Sept. 24. Ordines sacros solus unus a me petiit: examinationi undique impar.

One only person desired to receive holy orders from me, and he found to be unfit, upon examination.

24 Sept. 25. Cum exhortatione non ordinatum dimisi. Dies erat Sabbati.

I sent him away with an exhortation, not ordained. It was then Saturday.

Sept. 26. Die Solis. Ea nocte somniavi de nuptiis, nescio cujus Oxon. Omnes qui aderant, vestibus viridioribus florentes. Neminem novi præter Tho. Flaxnye. Statim post sine interjecta vigilia (quantum novi) visus est mihi Episcopus Wigorn. capite et cervicibus linteis obductus. Suasit

Sunday. That night I dreamed of the marriage of I know not whom at Oxford. All that were present were clothed with flourishing green garments. I knew none of them but Thomas Flaxnye. Immediately after, without any intermission of sleep (that I know of); I thought I

[1] ['post' erased.]

[q] [See above, p. 138, note [t].]

[r] [Sackville Crowe, one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber. He was created a baronet July 8, 1627, and appointed, April 9, 1634, special ambassador to the Porte, to negotiate a treaty of commerce. See Rymer, Fœdera, VIII. iv. pp. 68, 69.]

A.D. 1625. Sept. 26. mihi amice, ut cum illis habitarem; designando locum ubi Curia Marchionatus Walliæ tum tenebatur; sed (responsione mea non expectata [1]) respondit ipse, se scire me non potuisse tam exiliter vivere, &c.

saw the Bishop of Worcester his head and shoulders covered with linen. He advised and invited me kindly to dwell with them, marking out a place where the Court of the Marches of Wales was then held. But not staying for my answer, he subjoined, that he knew I could not live so meanly, &c.

Oct. 8. Die Sabbati, rediit e Wallia Comes. North.[s] Præses Walliæ, itinere per mare suscepto.

Saturday, the Earl of Northampton, President of Wales, returned out of Wales, taking his journey by sea.

Oct. 9. Die Solis, concionatus sum apud Carmarthen.

Sunday, I preached at Carmarthen

Oct. 10. Die Lunæ, equo vectus montes petii: dies erat pro tempore anni serenissimus, et adeo temperatus, ut redeuns prandium sumpsimus et ego et qui mecum erant sub dio, in loco dicto Pente Cragg, ubi registrarius rusticabatur.

Monday, I went on horseback up to the mountains. It was a very bright day for the time of year, and so warm that on our return I and my company dined in the open air, in a place called Pente Cragg, where my registrary had his country house.

Oct. 30. Die Solis, Sr. Thom. Coventrey[t] made Lord Keep [2].

Sunday, Sir Thomas Coventry made Lord Keeper.

Nov. 11. Dies erat Veneris, iter

Friday, I began my

[1] [Originally written 'sine responsione' afterwards erased.]
[2] ['Octob. 30 . . . Keep.' in marg.]

[s] [William Compton, first Earl of Northampton.]
[t] [On the deprivation of Bishop Williams. He was afterwards created Baron Coventry of Aylesborough; died Jan. 14, 1639-40. See his character in Clarendon, Hist. Rebell. vol. i. pp. 80, 81.]

susccpi, rediturus in Angliam.

journey to return into England. A.D. 1625.

Nov. 17. Die Jovis, Carolus filius Ducis Buckinghamiæ, natus [1].

Thursday, Charles, the Duke of Buckingham's son, was born [u].

Nov. 20. Die Solis, concionem tum habui apud Home Lacye in comitatu Herefordensi.

Sunday, I preached at Home Lacye in Herefordshire [x].

Nov. 24. Die Jovis, perveni ad ædes amicissimi F. Windebank apud Hains Hill. Ibi uxor amici mei (nam ille eo tempore Aulicus) statim a primo adventu narravit, Duci Buckinghamiæ, tum apud Belgas negotium regni agenti [y], natum esse filium: cui Deus omnibus bonis cœli et terræ benedicat.

Thursday, I came to the house of my great friend, Fr. Windebank. There the wife of my friend (for himself was then at Court), immediately as soon as I came, told me that the Duke of Buckingham (then negotiating for the public in the Low Countries) had a son born; whom God bless with all the good things of heaven and earth.

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Dec. 4. Die Solis, concionem habui apud Hurst. Ibi ruri degebam ad festum usque Nativitatis.

Sunday, I preached at Hurst. I stayed there in the country until Christmas.

Dec. 14. Dies erat Mercurii, Windlesoriam petii, sed redii eodem die [z].

Wednesday, I went to Windsor, but returned the same day [z].

[1] ['Nov. 17. . . . natus.' interlined.]

[2] ['Dec. 14 . . . die.' interlined.]

[u] [See Laud's Letter of Congratulation, in vol. vi.]

[x] [The seat of Sir John Scudamore, afterwards Viscount Scudamore of Sligo, in Ireland, and ambassador to France. He was a great benefactor to the ejected clergy.]

[y] [He was employed in the sale of the King's jewels, to assist the King of Denmark. See a letter of Sir Arthur Ingram to Sir T. Wentworth, Nov. 7. 1625. Strafforde's State Papers, vol. i. p. 28. Lond. 1739. The warrant for the delivery of the jewels is in Rymer Fœd. VIII. i. p. 167.]

[z] [He went to Windsor in the hope of meeting the Duke of Buckingham, but was disappointed. See his letter to the Duke. There is, probably, some mistake in the date, (the entry being interlined,) as the letter of congratulation is dated Windsor, December 13.]

A.D. 1625. Dec. 25. Concionem habui apud Hurst die Solis, in festis Domini Natalitiis.

Sunday, I preached at Hurst upon Christmas day.

Dec. 31. Die Sabbati, ad aulam regiam profectus sum (quæ erat tum Hamptoniæ); ibi,

Saturday, I went to the Court, which was then at Hampton Court. There,

Jan. 1. Die Solis, accepi me inter alios episcopos nominatum, ut die Mercurii sequente apud aulam *Whitehall* dictam, consilium ineamus de cerēmoñiis coronationis. Accepi simul legatum extraordinarium Gallorum destinatum esse, ut in maxima parte ædium Dunelmensis Episcopi resideret.

Sunday, I understood that I was named among other bishops, who were to consult together on Wednesday following at Whitehall, concerning the ceremonies of the coronation. I was also at the same time informed that the bigger part of the Bishop of Durham's house was appointed for the residence of the ambassador extraordinary of the King of France.

Jan. 2. Die Lunæ, reversus sum ad Hains Hill. Ibi enim, horum negotiorum nescius, chartas necessarias una cum cistula post reliqui. Has quum aptaverim, ad ædes me contuli Ri. Harrison militis; ut valedicerem amicis. Ibi primum quid de me senserit F. H. ni fallor, cognovi. Ipse aperte dixi, quo animo fui, &c. Redii.

Monday, I returned to Hains Hill. For there, not then knowing anything of these matters, I had left my necessary papers with my trunk. When I had put these in order, I went to Sir Richard Harrison's house, to take leave of my friends. There (if I mistake not) I first knew what F. H. thought of me. I told my mind plainly, &c. I returned.

Jan. 3. Die Martis, veni Londinum ad ædes proprias

Tuesday, I came to London, and fixed my-

Jan. 3. Westmonasterii [a]. Nam hebdomada ante Natalitia, misi servum, qui mea omnia e domo amici mei Epis. Dunelm. (quocum ut hospes per totum quadriennium vixi) ad ædes proprias deferret, præter libros, quos male distuli in adventum meum. Cogebat enim et legati Gallici [b] adventus, ut nimis properarem; et moles negotiorum optavit libros ad manum. Vesperi adii Ducem Buckinghamiæ.

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self at my own house at Westminster. For the week before Christmas I had sent my servant, who had brought all my things out of the house of my good friend the Bishop of Durham (with whom I had abode as a guest for four years complete) to my own house, save only my books, the removal of which I unadvisedly put off till my own coming. For the coming of the French ambassador forced me to make over-much haste; and the multitude of business then laying upon me made it requisite that I should have my books at hand. In the evening I visited the Duke of Buckingham.

A.D. 1625.

Jan. 4. Die Mercurii, Convenimus Aulæ vulgo dictæ *White-Hall*, ad deliberandum de cæremoniis Coronationis. Misi servum, qui libros adduceret: adduxit. Ea nocte disposui per musæum.

Nec dabatur mora. Nam quum simul eramus in deliberatione de cæremoniis, exiit a Rege et ad nos venit Comes Pem-

Wednesday, We met at White-Hall, to consult of the ceremonies of the Coronation. I sent my servant to bring my books, who brought them. That night I placed them in order in my study. And it was high time. For while we were in consultation about the ceremonies, the Right Honourable

[a] [Belonging to his stall.]

[b] [The Marquis de Blainville.]

A.D. 1625. Jan. 4. brochiensis, Regiæ Domus Camerarius Honoratissimus; et nomine Regis jussit me paratum esse in Febr. sextum, ut eo die in initio Parliamenti concionem habere possim.

the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain of the Household to his Majesty, came from the King to us, and delivered to me the King's order, to be ready against the sixth day of February, to preach that day at the opening of the Parliament.

Jan. 6. Die Veneris, dies erat Epiphaniæ; Convenimus iterum de cæremoniis, et responsum damus Regi.

Friday, Epiphany day, We met again to consult concerning the ceremonies, and gave up our answer to the King.

Jan. 16. Mandatum Regis mihi exposuit Archiepiscopus Cant., me supplere debere in Coronatione futura vices Decani Westmonasterii. Nolle enim Regem, ut Episcopus Lincoln., tum Decanus, interesset cæremoniis. Dies erat Lunæ.

The Archbishop of Canterbury made known to me the King's pleasure, that at the Coronation I should supply the place of the Dean of Westminster. For that his Majesty would not have the Bishop of Lincoln, then Dean, to be present at the ceremony[c]. It was then Monday.

Eodem die consultum est jussu Regis, quid in causa Rich. Montacutii agendum. Aderant Episcopi Lond.[d], Dunelm.[e], Winton.[f], Roffens.[g], Meneven.[h]

The same day, by the King's command, a consultation was held, what was to be done in the cause of Richard Montague. There were present, the Bishops of Lon-

[c] [Williams sent the King a list of the prebendaries of Westminster, requesting him to take his choice. He escaped in this manner the annoyance of appointing Laud, and the odium of passing him over. See Heylin's Cypr. Angl. p. 148.]

[d] [Montaigne.] [e] [Neile.]
[f] [Andrewes.] [g] [Buckeridge.]
[h] [Laud.]

don, Durham, Winches- A.D. 1625.
ter, Rochester, and St. David's.

27 Jan. 17. Responsum per literas dedimus, subscriptas Die Martis. Hoc die etiam Episcopus Lincoln. me deputavit scriptis suis sigillo munitis ad supplendum vices suas, qua Decanus erat Westmon., in coronatione Regis Caroli [1].

Tuesday, We gave in our answer in writing, subscribed this day. This day also, the Bishop of Lincoln deputed me under his hand and seal, to supply the place for him, which he, as Dean of Westminster, was to execute in the coronation of King Charles.

Jan. 18. Die Mercurii, Ad Regem me adduxit Dux Buckingh. Ostendi illi Notulas, si quæ offenderint, &c.

Wednesday, The Duke of Buckingham brought me to the King, to whom I showed my Notes, that if he disliked anything therein, &c.

Eodem die jussu Regis Archiep. Cant. cum Lond., Dunelm., Winton., Roffens., Meneven., consulebant de Precum Formula, ut gratias agamus pro peste remissa.

The same day, by the King's command, the Archbishop of Cant. and the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Rochester, and St. David's, consulted together concerning a Form of Prayer, to give thanks for the decrease of the plague.

Jan. 23. Libellum perfectum de Cæremoniis Coronationis paratum habui, per omnia cum libro regali. Dies erat Lunæ.

I had a perfect book of the Ceremonies of the Coronation made ready, agreeing in all things with the King's book. It was Monday.

Jan. 29. Dies erat Solis, Intel-

Sunday, I understood

[1] ['Hoc . . . Caroli.' inserted in opposite page.]

A.D. 1625. Jan. 29. lexi quid D. B.[i] collegit de causa, libro, et opinionibus Rich. Montacutii, R. C.[k] apud se statuisset. Videor videre nubem surgentem et minantem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Dissipet pro misericordia sua Deus.

what D. B. had collected concerning the cause, book, and opinions of Richard Montague, and what R. C. had determined with himself thereon. Methinks I see a cloud arising, and threatening the Church of England. God of His mercy dissipate it.

Jan. 31. Dies erat Martis, Episcopi, et alii Proceres antea nominati a Rege ut de cæremoniis Coronationis consilium inirent, ut mos antiquus observaretur, Regis jussu ipsum adimus.. Inspicit Rex omnia regalia: induit se tunicis S. Edwardi: jussit me legere rubricas directivas. Omnibus lectis, retulimus regalia ad Ecclesiam Westmon., et loco suo condimus.

Tuesday, The bishops and other peers before nominated by the King to consult of the ceremonies of the Coronation, that the ancient manner might be observed, by his Majesty's command went together to him. The King viewed all the regalia; put on St. Edward's tunics; commanded me to read the rubrics of direction. All being read, we carried back the regalia to the Church of Westminster, and laid them up in their place.

Feb. 2. Die Jovis et Purificationis B. V. Mariæ, coronatus est Rex Serenissimus Carolus. Ego functus sum vice Decani Westmon. Intravit Rex ecclesiam, quum non-

Thursday and Candlemas day, His Majesty King Charles was crowned. I then officiated in the place of the Dean of Westminster. The King entered the Abbey

[i] [Duke of Buckingham.]

[k] [King Charles.]

Feb. 2. dum sonuit hora decima; et tertia præteriit, antequam exivit. Dies clarissimo gaudebat sole.

Church a little before ten o'clock; and it was past three before he went out of it. It was a very bright sunshining day. A.D. 1625.

Solemnibus finitis, in Aula magna Westmon., quum tradidit mihi in manus regalia, quæ in Ecclesia B. Pet. Westmon. servantur; de novo dedit gladium *cortanam* dictum, et duos alios, qui coram Rege eo die deferebantur, ut servarentur cum reliquis insignibus in ecclesia. Redii, et ad altare solemniter obtuli nomine Regis, et cum aliis reposui.

The solemnity being ended, in the great Hall at Westminster, when the King delivered into my hands the regalia, which are kept in the Abbey Church of Westminster, he did (which had not before been done) deliver to me the sword called *curtana*, and two others, which had been carried before the King that day, to be kept in the church, together with the other regalia. I returned, and offered them solemnly at the altar in the name of the King, and laid them up with the rest.

Nihil in tanto negotio, et frequentia populi incredibili, amissum, fractum, turbatum nihil. Pulpitum, sive scena, vacuum, et expeditum Regi, proceribus, et negotio; et audivi comites alloquentes Regem inter redeundum, se nunquam vidisse solennia, etiam multo minora, tam pacifica, tam ordinata.

In so great a ceremony, and amidst an incredible concourse of people, nothing was lost, or broke, or disordered. The theatre was clear, and free for the King, the peers, and the business in hand; and I heard some of the nobility saying to the King in their return, that they never had seen any solemnity, although much

A.D. 1625.

less, performed with so little noise, and so great order.

Feb. 6. Lunæ dies erat, Concionem habui coram Rege Carolo, et Proceribus Regni, in initio Parlamenti [l].

Monday, I preached before King Charles and the House of Peers, at the opening of the Parliament.

Feb. 11. Die Sabbati, Ad instantiam Comitis Warwicensis Colloquium [m] fuit in causa Ri. Montacutii in ædibus Ducis Buckinghamiæ [n], &c.

Saturday, At the desire of the Earl of Warwick, a Conference was held concerning the cause of Richard Montague, in the Duke of Buckingham's house, [between Dr. Morton [o] and Dr. Preston [p] on the one side, and Dr. White [q] on the other. H. W.]

Feb. 17. Die Veneris, Colloquium prædictum secundo habitum est, non paucis proceribus regni præsentibus, loco prædicto.

Friday, The foresaid Conference was renewed, in the same place, many of the nobility being present.

Feb. 21. Dies erat Martis, et Carnivale: Misit D. Buckingh., ut ad se venirem. Tum in mandatis mihi dedit, ut, &c.

Shrove Tuesday, The Duke of Buckingham sent for me to come to him; and then gave me in command, that, &c.

Feb. 23. Die Jovis, Quæsivi Ducem apud Chelsei. Ibi primo vidi nuper natum

Thursday, I sought the Duke at Chelsea. There I first saw his son

[l] [See Sermon iii. This Sermon was misplaced in the Collected Edition of 1651. See preliminary note to Sermon.]

[m] An account of this Conference is in my hands, but wrote very partially, in favour of Dr. Preston and prejudice of Dr. White. H. W.

[The reader who desires full information on this subject, may consult the account of this, and the following, Conference, drawn up by Bishop Cosin, who was present at them both. Cosin's Works, vol. ii.]

[n] [York House.]

[o] [Thomas Morton, then Bishop of Lichfield, afterwards of Durham.]

[p] [John Preston, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.]

[q] [See above, p. 139. note [d].]

hæredem ejus Carolum. Ducem non inveni. Redii, domi inveni servum ejus me quærentem. Cum eo propero, et in Aula invenio. Quid a me factum narro.

and heir, Charles, lately born. I found not the Duke. Returning, I found his servant, who was seeking me. I went immediately with him, and found the Duke at Court. I related to him what I had done. A.D. 1625.

Feb. 24. Die Veneris, et S. Matthiæ, Cum eo fui in ædibus suis per horas fere tres, ubi sua manu, &c. Aliquid ut adderem jussit. Dicto obsequutus
Feb. 25. sum; et proximo die attuli.

Friday, and St. Matthias's day, I was with the Duke in his own house almost three hours; where with his own hand, &c. He commanded me to add somewhat. I did so, and brought it to him next day, Feb. 25.

Feb. 26. Dominica prima Quad. Concionem, quam habui in initio Parlamenti, Regio mandato typis jam excusam in manus Serenissimi Regis Caroli dedi, vesperi.

First Sunday in Lent, in the evening, I presented to his Majesty King Charles my sermon, which I had preached at the opening of the Parliament, being now printed, by his Majesty's command.

Feb. 27. Die Lunæ, Periculum Regis Caroli ab equo, qui fractis duobus ephippiorum cingulis, et ephippio una cum sessore in ventrem devoluto, tremens constitit, donec Rex salvus, &c.

Monday, The danger which happened to King Charles from his horse; which having broken the two girts of the saddle, and the saddle together with the rider fallen under his belly, stood trembling, until the King, having received no hurt, &c.

Mar. 1. Dies erat Mercurii, et

Wednesday, and the

A.D. 1625. Mar. 1. Festum S. Davidis, Clamor incepit in Domo Inferiori Parlamenti, nominatim contra Ducem Buckinghamiæ ob moratam navim dictam, *The St. Peter of Newhaven*, post sententiam latam [r]. Perpetuæ in Domo illâ agitationes erant a die illo.

Festival of S. David, a clamour arose in the House of Commons, against the Duke of Buckingham, more particularly for stopping a ship, called, The St. Peter of Newhaven, after sentence pronounced. From that day there were perpetual heats in the House.

Mar. 6. Resignavi Rectoriam de Ibstock [s], quam habui in Commendam [t].

I resigned the Parsonage of Ibstock, which I held in Commendam.

Mar. 11. Proposuit in Domo Dr. Turner [t], medicus, quæsita septem, vulgo dicta *quæres*, contra Ducem Buck.[u]: non alio tamen nixas fundamento, quam quod ex fama quidem publica, ut dixit, petiit. Dies erat Saturni.

Dr. Turner, a physician, offered in the House seven queries against the Duke of Buckingham; yet grounded upon no other foundation than what he received from public fame, as himself confessed. It was then Saturday.

Mar. 16. Die Jovis, Proposuit quidam e Belgia nomine

Thursday, A certain Dutchman, named John

[t] ['Resignavi . . . Commendam.' inserted in marg.]

[r] [This vessel had been captured by English cruisers, under the supposition that she belonged to the Spanish, with whom we were then at war. The Court of Admiralty decided that she was a French ship, and thereupon ordered her release. Buckingham, on obtaining further evidence that she was really a Spanish vessel, sailing under French colours, ordered her further detention. On the case being taken again to the Court of Admiralty, the vessel was released. This business formed the fifth of the charges brought shortly afterwards by the Commons against Buckingham.—See the Charge and Buckingham's Defence in Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. pp. 309. 382—384. The defence was written by Laud. See History of Troubles, chap. xlii. p. 400. in marg. The entries in the Diary on Feb. 21, 24, 25, probably refer to this business.]

[s] [He was succeeded by Rich. Baylie, (Rymer Fœd. VIII. ii. p. 31,) who, as appears from the register of Long Whatton, married Elizabeth Robinson, the Archbishop's niece, the 3d of April following.]

[t] [Dr. Samuel Turner.]

[u] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 217.]

Mar. 16. Joh. Oventrout se viam ostensurum, qui Occidentalis India excuteret jugum Hispaniæ, et se Regi nostro Carolo subderet. Res refertur aperienda Comiti de Totnes[x], Baroni Conway[y] secretario principali: et quia dixit stratagema suum a religione non minimas vires petiturum, adjungor ego. Proposuit senex quædam de Arica capienda: nec, qui capi potuit, ullis argumentis edocuit; nisi quod velit dividi incolarum animos in causa religionis, immisso illic Catechismo Hidelbergiæ. Dimisimus hominem; nec sapientiores redimus.

A.D. 1626. Oventrout, proposed to show a way how the West Indies might shake off the yoke of Spain, and put themselves under the subjection of our King Charles. The matter was referred to be disclosed to the Earl of Totnes, the Lord Conway principal secretary; and because he said that his stratagem did depend in a great measure upon religion, I was added to them. The old man proposed somewhat about the taking of Arica; yet showed not to us any method, how it might be taken; unless it were, that he would have the minds of the inhabitants to be divided in the cause of religion, by sending in among them the Catechism of Heidelberg. We dismissed the man, and returned, not a whit the wiser.

Anno 1626.

Mar. 26. Die Solis, Misit me ad Regem D. B.[z] Ibi certiorem feci Regem de duobus negotiis, quæ, &c.

Anno 1626.

Sunday, D. B. sent me to the King. There I gave to the King an account of those two

[x] [George Carew, who had held the Presidentship of Munster during Desmond's rebellion, and several other important offices, under Queen Elizabeth. He was created Baron Carew, June 4, 1605, and Earl of Totnes, Feb. 5, 1626; ob. 1629.]

[y] [See above, p. 149, note [s].]

[z] [Duke of Buckingham.]

A.D. 1626. Gratias egit Rex Serenissimus.

Mar. 29. Rex Carolus utramque Domum Parlamenti alloquitur, præcipue vero Inferiorem, et per se, et per Honoratissimum Dominum Custodem Magni Sigilli, in palatio de White-Hall [1]. In multis Domum Inferiorem reprehendit. Multa etiam adjecit de Duce Buckinghamiæ, &c.[a]

In Convocatione illo die habita multa agitata sunt de concione, quam habuit Gabr. Goodman, Episcopus Glocestr., coram Rege die Solis præcedente, Dom. 5. Quadragesimæ [b].

Apri. 5. Die Mercurii, Mane misit Rex, ut Episcopi Norwicensis [c], Lichfeldensis [d], et Menevensis [e] nosmetipsos coram sisteremus. Adsumus ego et Litchfeldensis: Norwicensis rus abiit. Accipimus mandata Regis circa, &c. Redimus.

businesses, which, &c. His Majesty thanked me.

King Charles spoke to both Houses of Parliament, (but directed his speech chiefly to the Lower House,) both by himself, and by the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, in the palace at White-Hall. He also added much concerning the Duke of Buckingham, &c.

In the Convocation 31 held that day, there was much debating concerning the sermon which Gabriel Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, had preached before the King on the Sunday preceding, being the fifth Sunday of Lent.

Wednesday, The King sent in the morning, commanding the Bishops of Norwich, Lichfield, and St. David's to attend him. I and the Bishop of Lichfield waited upon him, the Bishop of Norwich being gone into the country. We

[1] ['in palatio de White-Hall.' inserted in marg.]

[a] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 221. The speech was written by Laud. See History of Troubles and Trial, chap. xlii. p. 402. in marg.]

[b] ["The Bishop of Gloucester is questioned in the Convocation for preaching Transubstantiation, or near it, before the King."—Jos. Mede to Sir M. Stuteville. Birch's Court and Times of Charles I. vol. i. p. 95.]

[c] [Samuel Harsnet.]

[d] [Thomas Morton.]

[e] [Laud.]

received the King's commands about, &c., and returned. A.D. 1626.

April. 12. Die Mercurii, hor. 9. ante meridiem, convenimus Arch. Cant.[f], Episcopi Winton.[g], Dunelm.[h] et Meneven. jussi a Rege consulere de concione, quam habuit coram Majestate Regia Episcopus Glocestrensis, Dr. Goodman, Dom. 5. Quadrag. ultimo elapsa. Consulimus; et responsum damus Regi; Quædam minus caute dicta, falso nihil: nec innovatum quidquam ab eo in Ecclesia Anglicana: optimum fore, si iterum tempore a seipso electo iterum concionem haberet, et ostenderet qui et in quibus male acceptus intellectusque fuit ab auditoribus.

Wednesday, at 9 in the forenoon, we met together, viz. the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester, Durham, and St. David's; being commanded by the King to consult together concerning the sermon which Dr. Goodman, the Bishop of Gloucester, had preached before his Majesty on the 5th Sunday in Lent last past. We advised together and gave this answer to the King: That some things were therein spoken less cautiously, but nothing falsely; that nothing was innovated by him in the doctrine of the Church of England. That the best way would be, that the Bishop should preach the sermon again, at some time to be chosen by himself, and should then show how and wherein he was misunderstood by his auditors.

Ea nocte post horam nonam Regi renuntiavi, quæ in mandatis accepi die 5. April., et alia eo

That night, after 9 o'clock, I gave to the King an account of what I had received in com-

[f] [George Abbot.] [g] [Lancelot Andrewes.] [h] [Richard Neile.]

A.D. 1626. April. 12. spectantia; inter cætera, de impropriationibus reddendis. Multa gratissime Rex; ego quum prius disserui de modo.

mand on the 5th of April, and of other things relating thereto. Among the rest, concerning restoring impropriations. The King spoke many things very graciously therein, after I had first discoursed of the manner of effecting it.

April. 14. In Febrem incidit Dux Buckinghamiæ. Dies erat Veneris.

Friday, The Duke of Buckingham fell into a fever. 32

April. 19. Die Mercurii, Petitio Joh. Digbye Comitis Bristoliensis contra Ducem Buckinghamiæ lecta est in Domo Superiori Parlamenti: acris illa, et quæ perniciem minatur alteri partium [1].

Wednesday, The petition of John Digby, Earl of Bristol, against the Duke of Buckingham, was read in the House of Lords. It was very sharp, and such as threatens ruin to one of the parties.

April. 20. Die Veneris, Retulit cognitionem totius negotii et etiam petitionis Comitis Bristoliensis Domui Parlamenti Rex Carolus.

Friday, King Charles referred the cognisance of that whole matter, as also of the petition of the Earl of Bristol, to the House of Parliament.

April. 21. Dies erat Sabbati, Misit Dux Buckinghamius, ut ad se venirem. Ibi audivi, quid primicerius Regius Dom. Joh. Cocus contra me suggessit Thesaurario Angliæ, et ille Duci. Domine, miserere servi Tui.

Saturday, The Duke of Buckingham sent to me to come to him. There I first heard what Sir John Cook, the King's Secretary, had suggested against me to the Lord Treasurer, and he to the Duke. Lord, be merciful to me Thy servant.

[1] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 237.]

April. 22. Die Solis, Misit Rex, ut omnes Episcopi cum ipso essemus, hora quarta pomeridiana. Adsumus 14. numero. Reprehendit, quod in causis Ecclesiæ hoc tempore Parlamenti silemus, et non notum facimus ei, quid utile vel inutile foret Ecclesiæ; se enim paratum esse promovere causam Ecclesiæ.

Sunday, The King sent for all the Bishops to come to him at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. We waited upon him, 14 in number. Then his Majesty chid us, that in this time of Parliament we were silent in the cause of the Church, and did not make known to him what might be useful, or was prejudicial to the Church, professing himself ready to promote the cause of the Church. A.D. 1626.

Deinde jussit, ut in causis Bristoliensis et Buckinghamiæ, conscientia nostra duce, sequamur tantum probationes, non rumores.

He then commanded us, that in the causes of the Earl of Bristol and Duke of Buckingham we should follow the direction of our own consciences, being led by proofs, not by reports.

April. 30. Die Solis, Concionem habui apud White-Hall coram Rege.

Sunday, I preached before the King at White-Hall.

Maii 1. Lunæ dies erat, Comes Bristoliensis accusatur læsæ majestatis in Parlamento [k] ab Atturnato regio Roberto Heath Milite[l]. Comes dictus Articulos 12. exhibuit tum et ibidem contra Ducem Buckinghamiæ[m], et illum ejusdem criminis reaccusat; et alios Articulos

Monday, The Earl of Bristol was accused in Parliament of high treason, by the King's Attorney, Sir Robert Heath. The Earl then and there preferred 12 Articles against the Duke of Buckingham, and therein charged him with the same crime; and other Articles

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[k] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. pp. 249—254.]

[l] [Afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.]

[m] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. pp. 262, 263.]

A.D. 1626. Maii 1. contra Baronem Conwaye Secretarium [n]. In custodiam traditur Comes Bristol. Jacobo Maxwell, ordinario Domus Par. officiario.

also against the Lord Conway, Secretary of State. The Earl of Bristol was committed to the custody of James Maxwell, the officer in ordinary of the House of Peers.

Maii 4. Die Jovis, Arthurus Lake, Bathon. et Well. Episcopus, Londini mortuus est [o].

Thursday, Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells, died at London.

Maii 8. Dies erat Lunæ, Hora 2da post meridiem, Domus Inferior detulerunt Ducem Buckinghamiæ accusationibus 13. onustum ad Domum Superiorem [p].

Monday, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the House of Commons brought up to the House of Peers a charge against the Duke of Buckingham, consisting of 13 Articles.

Maii 11. Die Jovis, Rex Carolus venit in Domum Parlamenti. Paucis alloquitur Proceres de honore nobilium conservando, contra viles et infestas calumnias eorum e Domo Inferiori, qui detulerunt Ducem, &c. [q] Octo fuerunt qui in eo negotio partes sortitas exornarunt [r]. Prologus Dudleius Diggs [s], et Epilogus, Joh. Elliot [t], hoc die jussu Re-

Thursday, King Charles came into the Parliament House, and made a short speech to the Lords concerning preserving the honour of the nobility against the vile and malicious calumnies of those in the House of Commons, who had accused the Duke, &c.: they were eight, who in this matter chiefly appeared. The prologue, Sir Dudly

[n] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. pp. 264—266.]

[o] [Warden of New College and Dean of Worcester before he became Bishop.]

[p] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. pp. 306, seq.]

[q] [The King's Speech is given in Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 356. It was written by Laud. See History of Troubles, chap. xlii. p. 402 in marg.]

[r] [Rushworth gives the names of the eight chief managers: Sir Dudley Diggs, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Selden, Mr. Glanville, Mr. Pym, Mr. Sherland, Mr. Wandesford, and Sir John Elliot. Collections, vol. i. p. 302.]

[s] [Afterwards Master of the Rolls.]

[t] [Vice Admiral of Devonshire, and M.P. for Cornwall. See an interesting account of him in D'Israeli's Charles I.

gis Turri mandati sunt. Liberati intra paucos dies uterque.

Digges, the epilogue, John Elliot, were this day by the King's command committed to the Tower. They were both dismissed thence within few days. A.D. 1626.

Maii 25. Dies erat Jovis, Quia non remissus Domui Comes Arundelius [u], nec causa patefacta; suspicio crevit de læsis privilegiis. Conclusum est inter Proceres de Domo comperendinanda in crastinum:

Maii 26. quo die [x], iterum comperendinant in Junii 2 [y], statuentes se nihil acturos ante restitutum Comitem, vel causam saltem prolatam, &c.

Thursday, The Earl of Arundel not being sent back to the House, nor the cause of his detainment made known, the House of Peers began to be jealous of the breach of their privileges, and resolved to adjourn the House to the next day: on which day they adjourned again to June 2, resolving to do nothing until the Earl should be set free, or at least a cause given, &c.

vol. ii. chap. xi. pp. 268, seq. and vol. iv. Supplementary Chapter, p. 507.]

[u] [The reason of the Earl's committal to prison is thus given in a letter from Dr. Meddus to Joseph Mede, March 10, 162-56: "On Sunday (March 5) the Earl of Arundel was committed to the Tower by warrant from his Majesty; the cause was a marriage consummate between his son, my Lord Maltravers, and the eldest daughter of the late Duke of Lennox, whom his Majesty (being guardian to them both) had designed, yea the match was concluded, for the Earl of Argyle's heir, the Lord Lorne, (who is brought up here in our religion) for the reconciling of those two families, which for many years had been in great enmity. The Earl of Arundel, who is said to have given leave for his son to make love to the lady, came to ask the King's consent, when the marriage was already past; and saith he was not acquainted with it, but that it was despatched between his Countess and the Duchess of Lennox."—Birch's Court and Times of Charles I. vol. i. pp. 86, 87.]

[x] [The proceedings of the House of Lords in the case of the Earl of Arundel may be read in Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. pp. 363, seq. The King had this day informed the Lords, in reply to their last address, that he would "use all possible speed to give satisfaction, and, at the farthest, before the end of the session."—Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 369.]

[y] [On the meeting of the House on that day another message was delivered from the King, which proving unsatisfactory, the House was adjourned till the day following. A further message of a more satisfactory character was then given from the King, on which the House, at the request of the Lord Keeper, adjourned till the following Thursday (June 8), when it was announced from the King that the Earl was released.—Ibid. pp. 370, 371.]

A.D. 1626. Maii 25. Quo die hæ turbæ primò moverunt, erat Urbani Papæ; et hodiè sedet Urbanus Octavus; cui et Hispano simul si quid gratum facere velint, quibus id maxime curæ est; non video, quid melius excogitare possint, quam ut in partes distrahant concilium regni.

May 25, on which day these troubles first began, was the feast of Pope Urban; and at this time Urban VIII. sitteth in the papal chair; to whom and to the Spaniard, if they, 34
who most desire it, would do any acceptable service, I do not see what they could better devise in that kind than to divide thus into parties the great council of the kingdom.

Junii 15. Die Jovis, Post multas agitationes privata malitia [z] in Ducem Buckinghamiæ superavit, et suffocavit omnia publica negotia. Nihil actum est, sed Parlamentum solutum.

Thursday, after many debates and strugglings, private malice against the Duke of Buckingham prevailed, and stopped all public business. Nothing was done; but the Parliament was dissolved.

Junii 20. Dies erat Martis, Sereniss. Rex Carolus me nominavit in Episcopum Bathon. et Wellen.

Et simul injunxit, ut concionem haberem paratam in solenne Jejunium, quod proclamatione sanxit in diem Julii 5. sequentem [a].

Tuesday, His Majesty King Charles named me to be Bishop of Bath and Wells.

And at the same time commanded me to prepare a sermon for the Public Fast, which he had by proclamation appointed to be kept on the 5th of July following.

Julii 5. Solenne Jejunium institutum [b], partim ob

A solemn Fast appointed, partly upon ac-

[z] [This charge was urged against the Archbishop at his Trial. See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xlii. p. 403. in marg.]

[a] [The Proclamation is dated June 30. Rymer, Fœd. VIII. ii. pp. 68, 69.]

[b] [The Prayers composed for use on this occasion are entitled, "A Forme of Prayer necessary to bee vsed in these dangerous times of Warre and Pestilence for the safety and preseruation of his Maiestie and his Realmes. Set forth by authoritie. London, printed by Bonham Norton, and John Bill, Printers to the King's most Excellent Maiestie. 1626."]

Julii 5. grassantem adhuc in multis locis regni pestilentiam, et partim ob metum hostium minitantium. Concionem habui eo die coram Rege et Proceribus apud White-Hall. Dies erat Mercurii.

count of the pestilence yet raging in many parts of the kingdom, partly on account of the danger of enemies threatening us. I preached this day before the King and Nobility at White-Hall. It was Wednesday. A.D. 1626.

Julii 8. Concionem prædictam jussit Rex, ut typis excusam in publicum emitterem [c]. Dies erat Sabbati.

The King commanded me to print and publish the sermon. It was Saturday.

Julii 16. Die Solis, Theobaldis concionem illam, quæ jam prælum sensisset, in Regias manus dedi, et redii.

Sunday, I presented that sermon, which was now printed, to his Majesty, and returned.

Julii 26. Dies erat Mercurii, Signavit Rex *Congedeslier*, &c., ut potestas sit Decano et Capitulo me eligendi in Episcopum Bathoniensem.

Wednesday, The King signed the *Congé d'Eslire*, empowering the Dean and Chapter to elect me Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Julii 27. Die Jovis, mane. Detulit ad me Dr. Feild, Episcopus Landavensis [d], literas quasdam ab illustrissimo Duce Buckinghamiæ. Literæ apertæ erant, et partim characteribus conscriptæ. Misit autem eas ad me Dux, ut consulerem quendam nomine Swadlinge [e], nominatum

Thursday, In the morning, Dr. Feild, Bishop of Landaff, brought to me certain letters from the most illustrious Duke of Buckingham. The letters were open, and wrote partly in characters. The Duke sent them to me, that I should consult one named Swadlinge, men-

[c] [See Sermon v. Works, vol. i. p. 119.]

[d] [Theophilus Field, translated to S. David's in 1627, and to Hereford in 1635.]

[e] [Thomas Swadling, then Curate of St. Marylebone (Newcourt Repert. vol. i. p. 695). He was afterwards Curate of S. Botolph's, Aldgate, from which he was ejected in the Great Rebellion, (Wood, Ath. Ox. vol. iii. p. 887.)]

A.D. 1626. Julii 27. quidem in ipsis literis, ut qui possit characteres legere. Ipse etiam nominatus eram, utpote cui iste Swadlinge notus erat; et educatus in Collegio S. Joh. Oxon., eo tempore quo ego Præses eram

Aug. 1. Collegii. Venit ad me Thomas Swadlinge, quem a discessu e Collegio, ad diem illum per 8. fere annos, aut circiter, ne semel vidi. Ille opera insumpta tandem legit

Aug. 4. characteres, et Aug. 4, (dies Veneris erat,) ego et ille una adimus Ducem. Legit: malitiosa quædam erant. Dux, ut decuit, contemnit. Redimus.

tioned in those letters, as one who could read the characters. I was also named in them, as to whom that Swadlinge was known, having been educated in S. John's College in Oxford, at what time I was President of that College. Thomas Swadlinge came to me, whom, from his leaving the College to that day, for almost 8 years, I had not once seen. He bestowing some pains, at length read the characters, and Aug. 4, Friday, I and he went to the Duke. He read them: they were certain malicious things. The Duke, as was fit, despised them. We returned.

Aug. 16. Electus fui in Episcopum Bathoniensem. Dies erat Mercurii, et litera D [1].

I was elected Bishop of Bath and Wells, being Wednesday, the letter D [1].

Aug. 25. Dies erat Veneris, Duæ rubeculæ seu rubelliones simul per ostium in musæum volant, quasi unus alterum persequens. Motus ille subitus me quasi resilire facit. Dimisi sicut intrarunt. Ego tum

Friday, Two robin redbreasts flew together through the door into my study, as if one pursued the other. That sudden motion almost startled me. I was then preparing a sermon on

[1] ['Et litera D.' underlined, and a mark opposite them in marg.]

[1] [The King gave him a dispensation to hold his stall at Westminster *in commendam*, that he might have a residence in London. (Rymer, Fœd. VIII. ii. pp. 85, 86.)]

Aug. 25. paraturus eram concionem in Ephes. iv. 30, et chartis incubui.

Ephes. iv. 30, and studying. A.D. 1626.

Sept. 14. Die Jovis, vesperi. Voluit Dux Buckinghamiæ, ut instructiones quasdam in formam redigerem[g], partim politicas, partim ecclesiasticas, in causa illa Regis Daniæ paulo ante afflicti a Duce Tillio, mittendas per omnes parochias. Brevissima capita mihi tradita sunt. Paratas esse voluit in diem Saturni sequentem. Paravi, et hora præfixa attuli: Legi. Ducit me ad Regem. Ibi iterum jussus perlegi; uterque approbant. Die Solis, propositæ lectæque sunt (nam deposui apud Ducem chartas) coram Honoratissimis Regis Consiliariis. Deo gratias, ab omnibus probatæ sunt.

Thursday evening, The Duke of Buckingham willed me to form certain Instructions, partly political, partly ecclesiastical, in the cause of the King of Denmark, a little before brought into great straits by General Tilly, to be sent through all parishes. Certain heads were delivered to me. He would have them made ready by Saturday following. I made them ready, and brought them at the appointed hour. I read them to the Duke. He brought me to the King. I, being so commanded, read them again. Each of them approved them. Sunday, They were read (having been left with the Duke) before the Lords of the Privy Council; and were (thanks be to God) approved by them all.

Sept. 16.

36 Sept. 17.

Sept. 18. Lunæ die, Confirmata est electio mea in Bathon. et Wellen. Episcopum.

Monday, My election to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells was confirmed.

Sept. 19. Die Martis, Apud Theobaldas homagium juravi Serenissimo Regi,

Tuesday, At Theobalds I swore homage to his Majesty; who there pre-

[g] These may be found in Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 162. H. W. [P. 154. Edit. 1671.]

A.D. 1626. Sept. 19. qui ibi statim restituit me ad temporalia a tempore mortis.

Quæ inter me et Dom. Baronem Conwaye Principalem Regis Secretarium acciderunt, dum simul redimus.

sently restored me to the temporalties, from the death of my predecessor.

What passed between me and the Lord Conway, Principal Secretary to the King, in our return.

Sept. 25.[h] Die Lunæ, Hora matutina fere quarta Lancelotus Andrews, Episcopus Winton. meritissimus, lumen orbis Christiani, mortuus est.

Monday, About four o'clock in the morning, died Lancelot Andrews, the most worthy Bishop of Winchester, the great light of the Christian world.

Sept. 30. Die Saturni, Certiorem me fecit Dux Buck. quod decrevit Sereniss. Rex, ut ego successor sim Episcopo Winton. defuncto in officio Decanatus Sacelli Regii.

Saturday, The Duke of Buckingham signified to me the King's resolution, that I should succeed the Bishop of Winchester in the office of Dean of the Chapel-Royal.

Oct. 2. Die Lunæ, Narravit idem mihi, quid de me ulterius eo die Rex statuisset, si A. B. C. etc.

Monday, The Duke related to me what the King had further resolved concerning me, in case the Archbishop of Canterbury should die, &c.

Oct. 3. Die Martis, Ad Aulam profectus sum; ea tum Hamptoniæ erat. Ibi gratias egi Regi pro Decanatu Sacelli, mihi tum concesso. Redii Londinum.

Tuesday, I went to Court, which was then at Hampton Court. There I returned thanks to the King for the Deanery of the Chapel, then granted to me. I returned to London.

Oct. 6. Juramentum a Decano Sacelli suscipiendum sub-

I took the oath belonging to the Dean of the

[h] [This day is given incorrectly in the MS. 'Sept. 21.']

Oct. 6. ivi in sacrario coram Honoratissimo Camerario Regio Philippo Montgomeryæ Comite: ministrante juramentum Stephano Bouton[1] Subdecano. Dies erat Veneris.

Chapel, in the vestry, before the Right Honourable Philip Earl of Montgomery, Lord Chamberlain, Stephen Boughton, the Sub-Dean, administering it. It was Friday. A.D. 1626.

Nov. 14. Vel circiter, occasione sumpta ex abruptâ, tum incæptione, tum finitione, precum publicarum die 5. Novemb. petii a Serenissimo Rege Carolo, ut interesset lyturgiæ æque ac concionibus quolibet die Dominico, et, ut quocunque tempore precum advenisset, Sacerdos qui ministraret pergeret usque ad finem precum. Non modo annuit Rex religiosissimus, sed et gratias mihi egit. Non factum hoc antea ab initio regni Jacobi ad hunc diem. Nunc, Deo gratias, obtinet.

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Or thereabout, taking occasion from the abrupt both beginning and ending of public prayer on the fifth of November, I desired his Majesty King Charles, that he would please to be present at prayers as well as sermon every Sunday, and that at whatsoever part of the prayers he came, the Priest then officiating might proceed to the end of the prayers. The most religious King not only assented to this request, but also gave me thanks. This had not before been done from the beginning of K. James's reign to this day. Now, thanks be to God, it obtaineth.

Dec. 21. Somniavi de sepultura nescio cujus, et me astitisse pulveri, &c. Evigilavi tristis.

I dreamed of the burial of I know not whom, and that I stood by the grave. I awaked sad.

Dec. 25. Christmas-day, dies erat Lunæ, Concionem

Christmas-day, Monday, I preached my first

[1] [Appointed June 28, 1627, Canon of Worcester (Rymer, Fœd. VIII. ii. p. 250); Dec. 13, 1630, Rector of Broadway, Worcestershire (ibid. iii. p. 168); May 17, 1636, Rector of Hinxworth, Herts (ibid. IX. ii. p. 87); and July 4, the same year, Rector of Bargrave (ibid. p. 91).]

A.D. 1626. Dec. 25. habui primam ut Decanus Sacelli Regii, ad White-Hall, in S. Joh. i. 14. par. 1.

sermon, as Dean of the Chapel-Royal, at White-Hall, upon S. John i. 14. part 1.

Jan. 5. Vigilia erat Epiphaniæ, et dies Veneris, Nocte somniavi matrem meam diu ante defunctam lecto meo astitisse, et deductis paululum stragulis, hilarem in me aspexisse, lætatus sum videre eam aspectu tam jucundo. Ostendit deinde mihi senem diu ante defunctum, quem ego, dum vixit, et novi et amavi. Jacuisse videbatur ille humi, lætus satis, sed rugoso vultu; nomen ei Grove. Dum paro salutare, evigilavi.

Epiphany-eve, and Friday. In the night I dreamed that my mother, long since dead, stood by my bed, and drawing aside the clothes a little, looked pleasantly upon me; and that I was glad to see her with so merry an aspect. She then showed to me a certain old man, long since deceased, whom, while alive, I both knew and loved. He seemed to lie upon the ground, merry enough, but with a wrinkled countenance. His name was Grove. While I prepared to salute him, I awoke.

Jan. 8. Dies erat Lunæ. Eo visum Ducem Buckinghamiæ. Gavisus est, et in manus dedit chartam de Invocatione Sanctorum, quam dedit ei mater, illi vero nescio quis Sacerdos.

Monday, I went to visit the Duke of Buckingham. He was glad to see me, and put into my hands a paper concerning the Invocation of Saints, which his mother had given to him; a certain Priest, to me unknown, had given it to her.

Jan. 13. Dies erat Saturni, Episcopus Lin. petiit reconciliationem cum Duce Buck., &c.

Saturday, The Bishop of Lincoln desired reconciliation with the Duke of Buckingham, &c.

Jan. 14. Die Solis, versus mane somniavi Episcopum Lin.

Sunday, towards morning, I dreamed that the 38

Jan. 14. nescio quo advenisse cum catenis ferreis; sed redeuns liberatus ab iis equum insiluit; abiit, nec assequi potui[j].

Bishop of Lincoln came, A.D. 1626. I know not whither, with iron chains. But returning loosed from them, leaped on horseback, went away; neither could I overtake him.

Jan. 16. Die Martis, Somniavi Regem venatum exiisse; et quod quum esuriit, abduxi eum de improviso in domum Fran. Windebanck amici mei. Dum parat comedere, ego, dum alii aberant, calicem ei de more porrigebam. Potum attuli; non placuit. Iterum adduxi; sed poculo argenteo. Dicit Sereniss. Rex: Tu nosti, me semper e vitro bibere. Abeo iterum: evigilavi.

Tuesday, I dreamed that the King went out to hunt; and that when he was hungry, I brought him on the sudden into the house of my friend, Francis Windebank. While he prepareth to eat, I, in the absence of others, presented the cup to him after the usual manner. I carried drink to him, but it pleased him not. I carried it again, but in a silver cup. Thereupon his Majesty said: You know that I always drink out of glass. I go away again, and awoke.

Jan. 17. Die Mercurii, Ostendo rationes Regi, cur chartæ Episcopi Winton. defuncti de Episcopis, quod sint jure divino[k], prælo tradendæ sint, contra illud quod misere, et in maximum damnum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Epi-

Wednesday, I show my reasons to the King, why the papers of the late Bishop of Winchester, concerning Bishops, that they are *jure divino*, should be printed; contrary to what the Bishop of Lincoln had pitifully,

[j] [Hacket (Life of Williams, par. ii. p. 85.) remarks on this, and similar passages in the Diary: "The undoing of his brother and colleague in divinity did so run in his mind, that it was never out of his dreams." Rushworth ventures on an interpretation of this dream. Collections, vol. i. p. 421.]

[k] [The papers referred to are the Letters of Bishop Andrewes to Peter du Moulin, published in 1629 by Bishops Buckeridge and Laud in his "Opuscula Posthuma."]

A.D. 1626. Jan. 17. scopus Linc. significavit Regi; sicut Rex ipse mihi antea narravit[1].

and to the great detriment of the Church of England, signified to the King, as the King himself had before related to me.

Feb. 7. Dies erat Cinerum, Concionatus sum in Aula ad White-Hall.

Ash-Wednesday, I preached at Court, at White-Hall.

Feb. 9. Die Veneris, Nocte sequente somniavi me morbo scorbutico laborasse; et repente dentes omnes mihi laxos fuisse; unum præcipue in inferiori maxilla, vix digito me retinere potuisse, donec opem peterem, &c.

Friday, The following night I dreamed that I was troubled with the scurvy, and that on the sudden all my teeth became loose; that one of them especially, in the lower jaw, I could scarce hold in with my finger, till I called out for help, &c.

Feb. 20. Die Martis, Incæpit Jo. Fenton curationem pruriginis cujusdam, &c.

Tuesday, John Fenton began the cure of a certain itch, &c.

Feb. 22. Die Jovis, Iter suscepi versus Novum Mercatum, ubi tum Rex fuit.

Thursday, I began my 39 journey towards New-Market, where the King then was.

Mar. 3. Dies Saturni erat, Cantabrigiam concessi una cum Duce Buckinghamiæ, Cancellario istius almæ Academiæ[m], et aliis

Saturday, I went to Cambridge with the Duke of Buckingham, Chancellor of that famous University, and other

[1] [Hacket, (Life of Williams, par. ii. p. 87,) forgetting that the king's veracity is involved, observes on this, "Which is a great mistake, for Lincoln ever defended the divine right of his order, that it was necessary in a church rightly constituted, that it was a main defect in them that had not that presidency among them, but the less if they did desire it, and could not enjoy it." Hacket, it may be observed, speaks of the episcopal order simply as a "presidency," not as the channel by which the apostolical gift is conveyed; which argues no very high idea of the office, on the part either of Williams or of himself, according to his own showing.]

[m] [He was elected Chancellor, June 1, 1626, by a majority of three votes over his competitor, Viscount Andover. See a letter of Joseph Mede to Sir Martin Stuteville, June 3, 1626, describing the efforts of his party to secure his success. (Birch's Court of Charles I. vol. i. pp. 107—109.) The

Mar. 3. Comitibus et Baronibus. Incorporatus ibi fui; et sic primus, qui præsentatus fuit illustrissimo Duci, tum sedenti in domo Congregationis, ipse fui. Habitus ibi fuit ab Academicis Dux insignis et Academice et celebriter[n]. Redimus.

earls and lords. I was there incorporated; and so I was the first who was presented to the most illustrious Duke, then sitting in the Congregation House. The Duke was treated by the University in an Academical manner, yet splendidly. We returned. A.D. 1626.

Mar. 6. Die Martis, Rediit Rex e Novo Mercato, et ego, versus Londinum.

Tuesday, The King returned from New-Market, and I with him, toward London.

Mar. 8. Die Jovis: Veni Londinum. Nocte sequente somniavi me reconciliatum fuisse Ecclesiæ Ro. Hoc anxie me habuit; et miratus sum valde, unde accidit. Nec solum mihi molestus fui [propter errores illius Ecclesiæ, sed etiam[o]] propter scandala, quæ ex illo lapsu meo multos egregios et doctos viros in Ecclesia Ang. onerarent. Sic turbatus insomnio dixi apud me, me statim iturum, et confessione facta veniam ab Ecclesia Ang. petiturum. Pergenti obviam se dedit Sacerdos quidam; voluit impedire. Sed indigna-

Thursday, I came to London. The night following I dreamed, that I was reconciled to the Church of Rome. This troubled me much; and I wondered exceedingly, how it should happen. Nor was I aggrieved with myself [only by reason of the errors of that Church, but also] upon account of the scandal which from that my fall would be cast upon many eminent and learned men in the Church of England. So being troubled at my dream, I said with myself, that I would go immediately, and, confessing my fault, would

House of Commons was much exasperated by this election, and summoned some of the Doctors to give an account of their conduct, but the King forbade their attendance. (Ibid. p. 110.)]

[n] [See Joseph Mede's account of his reception, ibid. p. 204.]

[o] These words are most maliciously omitted by Prynne.—H. W.

A.D. 1626. Mar. 8. tione motus, me in viam dedi. Et dum fatigavi me morosis cogitationibus, evigilavi. Tales impressiones sensi; ut vix potui credere me somniasse.

beg pardon of the Church of England. Going with this resolution, a certain priest met me, and would have stopped me. But moved with indignation I went on my way. And while I wearied myself with these troublesome thoughts, I awoke. Herein I felt such strong impressions, that I could scarce believe it to be a dream.

Mar. 12. Mar. 13. Die Lunæ, Cum Rege concessi Theobaldas. Redii die proximo.

Monday, I went with the King to Theobalds. I returned next day, March 13.

Mar. 17. Die Saturni, Vigilia Palmarum: Hora noctis fere media, sepelivi[p] Carolum Vicecomitem Buckinghamiæ[q], filium natu maximum et tum unicum Georgii Ducis Buckinghamiæ, ætatis tum fuit anni unius et fere quatuor mensium. Mortuus est die Veneris præcedente.

Saturday, the Eve of Palm-Sunday, about midnight I buried Charles Viscount Buckingham, the eldest, and then only, son of George Duke of Buckingham. He was then about a year and four months old. He died on the Friday before.

An. 1627.

Mar. 25. Dies erat Paschatis, Concionatus sum in Aula, &c.

Easter-day, I preached at Court, &c.

Mar. 27. Die Martis, Sequente nocte somnium habui, quale sequitur. Legata quædam data erant Dominæ Dorotheæ Wright,

Tuesday, That night I had the following dream. Some legacies had been given to the Lady Dorothy Wright, the widow

[p] [In Henry the Seventh's Chapel, near King James.]

[q] [Mede calls him the Earl of Coventry. (Birch's Court of Charles I. vol. i. p. 207.)]

Mar. 27. viduæ Georgii W. militis, familiaris mei. Legatæ erant 430 minæ et amplius: datæ a consanguineo quodam, viduæ et filiis, nomine Farnham. Ad instantiam viduæ, quum legata solvere Executor aut negavit, aut distulit, literas obtinui ab illustrissimo Duce Buckinghamiæ in gratiam viduæ (Dux enim erat Magister Equitum, et dictus Georgius W. sub eo fuit inter ministros Regis). Quum literas jam in manibus haberem, daturusque eram viduæ, ut mitteret in Hiberniam, ubi Executor degebat, hac nocte apparuit mihi in somnis Georgius W. miles, per biennium ante ad minimum mortuus, visus est mihi valde habilis hilarisque satis. Dixi, quid pro vidua et liberis ejus tum egi. Cogitabundus paulisper respondit; Executorem sibi, dum in vivis esset, satisfecisse pro legatis illis: et statim, inspectis quibusdam chartis in muscolo suo adjacente, addidit iterum ita esse.

of Sir George Wright my acquaintance. The legacies amounted to above 430*l.*, being bequeathed by a certain kinsman named Farnham, to the widow and her children. When the Executor denied or deferred to pay the legacy, I had, at the desire of the widow, obtained letters in her behalf from the Duke of Buckingham (for the Duke was Master of the Horse, and the said Sir George W. was employed under him in the King's service). When I had now those letters in my hands, and was about to deliver them to the widow, that she might send them into Ireland, where the Executor dwelt; this night Sir George Wright appeared to me in my sleep, having been dead two years before at least. He seemed to me in very good plight, and merry enough. I told him what I had done for his widow and children. He, after a little thought, answered that the Executor had satisfied him for those legacies, while he was yet alive. And presently looking upon some papers

A.D. 1627.

A.D. 1627. Mar. 27.

Et insuper mihi in aurem dixit, me causam esse, cur Episcopus L. non iterum admitteretur in gratiam et in Aulam[r].

in his study adjoining, he added, that it was so.

He moreover whispering in my ear, told me, that I was the cause why the Bishop of Lincoln 41 was not again admitted into favour, and to Court.

Apr. 4. Die Mercurii, Quum Rex. Sereniss. Carolus absolvebat D. Dun[s] circa lapsus quosdam in concione habita die Solis Apr. 1. Quod gratiosissime mihi tum dixit, literis nunquam delendis, cum summa gratiarum actione Deo et Regi, in corde scripsi.

Wednesday, When his Majesty King Charles forgave to Doctor Donne certain slips in a sermon preached on Sunday, Apr. 1: what he then most graciously said unto me, I have wrote in my heart with indelible characters, and great thankfulness to God and the King.

Apr. 7. Dies erat Saturni, Dum Aulam petii, ut Regiæ cœnæ servus intersim, e rheda exeuns, titubante pede præceps ruebam; graviori casu nunquam sum lapsus; sed miserante Deo, contusa tantum coxendice, idque leviter, evasi.

Saturday, Going to Court, to wait upon the King at supper, in going out of the coach, my foot stumbling, I fell headlong. I never had a more dangerous fall; but by God's mercy, I escaped with a light bruise of my hip only.

Apr. 24. Dies erat Martis, Primo ad me missæ sunt Exceptiones, quas exhibuit A. B. C. contra Concionem Doctoris Sibthorp[t], et quæ sequuntur.

Tuesday, There were then first sent to me the Exceptions which the Archbishop of Canterbury had exhibited against Doctor Sibthorp's Sermon, and what followed.

[r] [See Hacket's Life of Williams, par. ii. p. 85.]

[s] [Dr. John Donne. No mention is made of this sermon by his biographer. But there is an account of King James's displeasure with Donne, and his satisfactory exculpation of himself on a previous occasion, in Walton's Life, (Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. vol. iii. pp. 653—655.)]

[t] [Dr. Robert Sibthorp, Vicar of Brackley, had, at the previous assizes

Apr. 29. Die Solis, Factus sum Serenissimo Regi Carolo a Consiliis Secretioribus. In honorem suum, et bonum Regni et Ecclesiæ, oro, vertat Deus.

Sunday, I was made Privy-Councellor to his Majesty King Charles. God grant it may conduce to his honour, and to the good of the kingdom and the Church. A.D. 1627.

Maii 13. Die Pentecostes, Concionem habui coram Rege, &c.

Whitsunday, I preached before the King, &c.

Junii 7 et 8. I attended King Charles from London to Southwick by Portsmouth.

Junii 11. His Majesty dined aboard the Triumph, where I attended him.

Junii 17. The Bp. of London was granted me at Southwick.

22. We came to London.

24. I was commanded to go all the progress.

27. The Duke of Buckingham set forwards towards the Isle of Ree.

30. The progress began to Oatlands.

Julii 4. The King lost a jewel in hunting of a 1000*l.* value. That day the message was sent by the King for the sequestering of A. B. C.[u]

7. Saturday night, I dreamed that I had lost two teeth. The Duke of Buck. took the Isle of Ree.

26. I attended the King and Queen at Wellingburrough[v].

42 29. The first news came from my Lord Duke of his success: Sunday.

for Northamptonshire, preached a sermon in favour of the imposition of taxes by the King independently of the sanction of Parliament. Abbot, on being applied to license it, declined to do so, on the ground that it contained many statements contrary to the laws of the realm. The objections were referred to Laud, who with the aid of other Bishops revised the sermon. Abbot again refused his approval, and the sermon was at last licensed by Montaigne, Bishop of London. Abbot ascribes his sequestration, which took place shortly afterwards, to this refusal. See Abbot's Narrative, in which the objections are given at length, in Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. pp. 436—444.]

[u] [Lord Conway was directed to bear a message from the King to Abbot, to the effect that he should retire to Canterbury. Abbot, in his account of the interview between Lord Conway and himself, states, that Lord Conway informed him that this disgrace was put on him for refusing to license Sibthorp's sermon. (See Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 446, 447.)]

[v] [The King and Queen were staying there for the benefit of the Chalybeate Spring, at Redwell.]

A.D. 1627. Aug. 12. The second news came from my Lord Duke to Windsor: Sunday.

26. The third news came from my Lord Duke to Aldershot: Sunday.

Septemb. News came from my Lord Duke to Theobalds.

The first fear of ill success.

News from my Lord Duke to Hampton Court.

I went to my Lord of Rochester, to consider about A. B. C., and returned to Hampton Court.

The King's speech to me in the withdrawing chamber. That if any did, &c. I, &c. before any thing should sink, &c.

The business of Doctor Bargar [w], Dean of Canterbury [x], began about the vicarage of Lidd.

Octob. The commission to the Bishops of London [y], Durham [z], Rochester [a], Oxford [b], and myself, then Bath and Wells, to execute archiepiscopal jurisdiction, during the sequestration of my Lord's G. of Cant.[c]

The Dean of Cant.'s speech, that the business could not go well in the Isle of Ree. There must be a Parliament, some must be sacrificed, that I was as like as any. Spoken to Doctor W.

The same speech after spoken to the same man, by Sir Dudlye Diggs.

I told it, when I heard it doubled. Let me desire you, not to trouble yourself with any reports, till you see me forsake my other friends, &c. Ita Ch. R.

The retreat out of the Isle of Ree.

Novemb. My Lord Duke's return to Court.

The Countess of Purbeck censured in the High Commission for adultery [d].

[w] Bargrave.—H. W.

[x] [Isaac Bargrave. He had preached, on the previous March 27, (the King's accession,) a sermon strongly in favour of the loan. (See a letter of Mede to Stuteville, Birch's Court of Charles I., vol. i. pp. 214, 215,) though in the previous reign he had favoured the popular party. He suffered severely in the early part of the rebellion.]

[y] [George Montaigne.]

[z] [Rich. Neile.]

[a] [John Buckeridge.]

[b] [John Howson.]

[c] [The Commission is given in Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 431—433. It is dated Oct. 9. It was revoked June 24, 1628. (Rymer, Fœd. VIII. ii. p. 264.)]

[d] [With Sir Rob. Howard. (See above, at Jan. 21, and March 3, 1624.) The sentence was given Nov. 29, as appears by a letter in Birch's Court of Charles I. vol. i. p. 296. In Hist. of Troubles and Trial, (chap. v. p. 146 in marg.) it is given Nov. 19. Laud was fined 500*l.* for the part he took in the subsequent proceedings. See Diary, Dec. 21, 1640.]

Dec. 25. I preached to the King at White-Hall. A.D. 1627.

Jan. 29. Tuesday, A resolution at the Council Table for a Parliament, to begin March 17, if the shires go on with levying money for the navy, &c.

Jan. 30. Wednesday, My Lord Duke of Buckingham's son was born, the Lord George [e]. New moon die 26 [1].

Feb. 5. Tuesday, The straining of the back sinew of my right leg, as I went with his Majesty to Hampton-Court [f]. I kept in till I preached at the opening of the Parliament, March 17, but I continued lame long

Feb. 14. after, saving that upon Thursday, Saint Valentine's-day, I made a shift to go and christen my Lord Duke's son, the Lord George, at Wallingford-House.

Mar. 17. I preached at the opening of the Parliament; but had much ado to stand. It was Monday [g].

An. 1628.

June 1. Whitsunday, I preached at White-Hall.

June 11. My Lord Duke of Buckingham voted in the House of Commons to be the cause, or causes, of all grievances in the kingdom [2].

June 12. Thursday, I was complained of by the House of Commons for warranting Doctor Manwaring's sermons to the press [h].

June 13. Dr. Manwaring answered for himself before the

June 14. Lords; and the next day, being Saturday, was censured [i].

[1] ['New moon die 26,' in marg.]

[2] ['or causes . . . . kingdom.' cut off in MS.]

[e] [His successor, the notorious Buckingham of Charles the Second's Court.]

[f] [See the Prayer on this occasion, above, p. 82.]

[g] [The Sermon on the text, Eph. iv. 3, 'Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,' was afterwards published. It contains several allusions to the accident which had so recently befallen the preacher. See Serm. vi. vol. i. pp. 170. 177.]

[h] [Roger Manwaring, Vicar of S. Giles-in-the-Fields, had preached two sermons in July 1627, entitled, "Religion and Allegiance," on Eccl. viii. 2. They had been preached before the King, the one at Oatlands, the other at Alderton. The charge against him was brought up from the Commons by Pym. See Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. pp. 593–4.]

[i] [He was sentenced to be imprisoned, to be fined 1000*l.*, was required to make submission, suspended for three years, disenabled to enjoy any further preferment or office. (See Rushworth, vol. i. p. 605.) The Sermons were called in by proclamation, June 24. (See Rymer, Fœd. VIII. ii. p. 264.) He afterwards received a free pardon, and was immediately promoted to the living of Stanford Rivers, which he held with S. Giles-in-the-Fields. In May 1633 he was appointed Dean of Worcester, and Feb. 28, 1635, (see below at that date,) consecrated Bishop of S David's.]

A.D. 1628. June 14. After his censure my cause was called to the report. And by God's goodness towards me, I was fully cleared in the House. 43

The same day the House of Commons were making their remonstrance to the King[j]. One head was, innovation of religion. Therein they named my Lord the Bishop of Winchester and myself[k].

One in the House stood up and said: Now we have named these persons, let us think of some causes why we did it. Sir Edw. Cooke answered, Have we not named my Lord of Buckingham without showing a cause, and may we not be as bold with them?

June 17. This remonstrance was delivered to the King on Tuesday.

June 26. Thursday, The Session of Parliament ended, and was prorogued to October 20.

July 1. Tuesday, My *Conge-deslier* was signed by the King for the Bp. of London[l].

July 15. Tuesday, St. Swithin, and fair with us. I was translated to the Bp. of London. The same day, the Lord Weston was made Lord Treasurer[m].

Aug. 9. Saturday, A terrible salt rheum in my left eye, had almost put me into a fever.

Aug. 12. Tuesday, My Lord Duke of Buckingham went towards Portsmouth, to go for Rochell.

Aug. 23. Saturday, St. Bartholomew's-eve, The Duke of Buckingham slain at Portsmouth, by one Lieutenant Felton, about nine in the morning.

Aug. 24. The news of his death came to Croydon; where it found myself and the Bps. of Winchester[n], Ely[o], and Carlile[p], at the consecration of Bishop Montague for Chichester, with my Lord's Grace.

[j] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. pp. 619—626.]

[k] [Ibid. p. 621.]

[l] [The Congé d'élire is dated July 4, see Rymer, Fœd. VIII. ii. p. 265. The reason of the delay which took place in his translation to this See, is explained at length by Heylin, (Cypr. Angl. pp. 165, 166.) It will be remembered that he had been nominated to the Bishopric of London, June 17, 1627. See above, p. 205.]

[m] [Sir Richard Weston, created Lord Weston, April 13, 1628, and Earl of Portland, 1632. He was appointed Lord High Treasurer on the retirement of Ley, Earl of Marlborough.]

[n] [Rich. Neile.]

[o] [John Buckeridge.]

[p] [Francis White.]

Aug. 27. Wednesday, Mr. Elphinston[q] brought me a very gracious message from his Majesty, upon my L. Duke's death. A.D. 1628.

Aug. 30. As I was going out to meet the corpse of the Duke, which that night was brought to London[r], Sir W. Fleetwood[s] brought me very gracious letters from the King's Majesty, written with his own hand.

Sept. 9. Tuesday, The first time that I went to Court after the death of the Duke of Buckingham, my dear lord. The gracious speech, which that night the King was pleased to use to me.

Sept. 27. Saturday, I fell sick, and came sick from Hampton Court. Tuesday, Septemb. ult., I was sore plucked with this sickness, &c.

Oct. 20. Monday, I was forced to put on a truss for a rupture. I know not how occasioned, unless it were with swinging of a book for my exercise in private.

Nov. 29. Felton was executed at Tyburn for killing the Duke; and afterwards his body was sent to be hanged in chains at Portsmouth[t]. It was Saturday and St. Andrew's-even; and he killed the Duke upon Saturday, S. Bartholomew's-even.

Dec. 25. I preached at White-Hall.

Dec. 30. Wednesday, The statutes which I had drawn, for the reducing of the factious and tumultuary election
44 of Proctors in Oxford to several colleges by course, and so to continue, were passed in Convocation at Oxford, no voice dissenting[u].

Jan. 26. Monday, The 240 Greek manuscripts were sent to London-house. These I got my Lord of Pembroke to buy and give to Oxford[x].

Jan. 31. Saturday night, I lay in Court. I dreamed that

[q] [The King's cup-bearer.]

[r] [He was buried on the north side of Henry VIIth's Chapel.]

[s] [Cup-bearer to Kings James and Charles; appointed March 27, 1640, Receiver-General of the Court of Wards and Liveries (Rymer, Fœd. IX. iii. p. 38). He was the father of the celebrated Republican General.]

[t] [See two accounts of his execution in Birch's Court of Charles I. vol. i. pp. 441, 442, 446.]

[u] [See Wood's Annals, ad an. 1629, p. 365, and Reg. Conv. R. fol. 2.]

[x] [These were the celebrated Baroccian MSS. See Hist. of Chancellorship, p. 10, note °.]

A.D. 1628. Jan. 31. I put off my rochet, all save one sleeve; and when I would have put it on again, I could not find it.

Feb. 6. Friday, Sir Thomas Roe[y] sent to London-house twenty-eight manuscripts in Greek, to have a catalogue drawn, and the books to be for Oxford[z].

Mar. 2. Monday, The Parliament to be dissolved declared by proclamation, upon some disobedient passages to his Majesty that day in the House of Commons.

Mar. 10. Tuesday, The Parliament dissolved; the King present. The Parliament, which was broken up this March 10, laboured my ruin; but, God be ever blessed for it, found nothing against me[1].

An. 1629.

Mar. 29. Sunday, Two papers were found in the Dean of Paul's his yard before his house. The one was to this effect concerning myself: Laud, look to thyself; be assured thy life is sought. As thou art the fountain of all wickedness, repent thee of thy monstrous sins, before thou be taken out of the world, &c. And assure thyself, neither God nor the world can endure such a vile counsellor to live, or such a whisperer; or to this effect. The other was as bad as this, against the Lord Treasurer. Mr. Dean delivered both papers to the King that night. Lord, I am a grievous sinner; but I beseech Thee, deliver my soul from them that hate me without a cause.

April 2. Thursday, Maundy-Thursday, as it came this year, About three of the clock in the morning, the Lady Duchess of Buckingham delivered of her son, the Lord Francis Villiers[a], whom I christened,

April 21. Tuesday the 21st.

[1] ['Tuesday . . . me.' inserted afterwards in marg.]

[y] [Sir Thomas Roe had been ambassador at Constantinople, where he collected many valuable MSS. He was elected, Oct. 17, 1640, one of the Burgesses of the University. (Wood, Ath. Ox. iii. 112.)]

[z] [The gift of these MSS. to the University is recorded in Reg. Conv. R. fol. 6. a. A list of the MSS. given by Sir Th. Roe, is in Cat. MSS. Angl. vol. i. pp. 35. 38. Those mentioned in the text are only a small portion of the whole number.]

[a] [Lord Francis Villiers was slain in a skirmish with the rebels on July 7, 1648, near Kingston-on-Thames.

April 5. I preached at White-Hall[1]. A.D. 1629.

Maii 13. Wednesday, This morning, about three of the clock, the Queen was delivered before her time of a son. He was christened, and died within short space, his name Charles[b]. This was Ascension-eve.

Maii 14. The next day being Ascension-day, *paulo ante mediam noctem*, I buried him at Westminster. If God repair not this loss, I much fear it was Descension-day to this State.

Aug. 14. *Dies erat Veneris*, I fell sick upon the way towards the Court at Woodstock; I took up my lodging at my ancient friend's house, Mr. Francis Windebanck. There I lay in a most grievous

Sept. 7. burning fever[c], till Monday, Sept. 7, on which day I had my last fit.

Oct. 20. I was brought so low, that I was not able to return towards my own house at London, till Tuesday, Octob. 29.

Oct. 26. I went first to present my humble duty and service to his Majesty at Denmark House[d], Monday, 26 Octob.

Mar. 21. After this I had divers plunges, and was not able
45 to put myself into the service of my place, till Palm Sunday, which was March 21.

An. 1630.

Apr. 10. The Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward, being Chancellor of the University of Oxford, died of an apoplexy[e].

Apr. 12. The University of Oxford chose me Chancellor; and word was brought me of it, the next morning, Monday.

Apr. 28. Wednesday, The University came up to the ceremony, and gave me my oath[f].

Maii 29. Saturday, Prince Charles was born at St. James's,

[1] ['I preached at White-Hall.' inserted in marg.]

His elder brother, the Duke of Buckingham, escaped. See an interesting account of his death in Aubrey's Surrey, vol. i. p. 47.]

[b] [See above, p. 102.]

[c] [See above, p. 14, note [c], and p. 51, note [c].]

[d] [So called from Queen Anne of Denmark. Both before and after this time called Somerset House.]

[e] [See Hist. of Chancellorship, p. 3, note [c].]

[f] [Ibid. pp. 6—13.]

A.D. 1630. Maii 29. *paulo ante horam primam post meridiem* [g]. I was in the house three hours before, and had the honour and happiness to see the Prince, before he was full one hour old [h].

Junii 27. Sunday, I had the honour, as Dean of the chapel, my Lord's Grace of Cant. being infirm, to christen Prince Charles at St. James's, *hora fere quinta pomeridiana.*

Aug. 22. Sunday, I preached at Fulham [i], &c.

Aug. 24. Tuesday, S. Bartholomew, Extreme thunder, lightning, and rain. The pestilence this summer: The greatest week in London was seventy-three *a* 7 *Octob. ad* 14; spread in many places, miserably in Cambridge [j]. The winter before was extreme wet; and scarce one week of frost.

Pestis.

Fames. This harvest scarce: a great dearth in France, England, the Low Countries, &c.

Oct. 6. Wednesday, I was taken with an extreme cold and lameness, as I was waiting upon St. George his feast at Windsor; and forced to return to Fulham, where I continued ill above a week.

Oct. 29. Friday, I removed my family from Fulham to London-house.

Nov. 4. Thursday, Leighton was degraded at the High Commission [k].

Nov. 9. Tuesday, That night Leighton broke out of the Fleet. The warden says, he got or was helped over the wall; the warden professes, he knew not this till Wednesday noon. He told it not me till Thursday night. He was taken again in Bedfordshire, and brought back to the Fleet within a fortnight [l].

Nov. 26. Friday, Part of his sentence was executed upon him at Westminster [m].

[g] [See thanksgiving on this occasion, above, p. 103.]

[h] [See the King's letter, announcing the Prince's birth to the Bishop, in Prynne's Breviate, p. 16.]

[i] [Dr. Cluet, Archdeacon of Middlesex, was then Vicar.]

[j] [The severity of the plague in Cambridge is mentioned in several letters of Joseph Mede. See Birch's Court of Charles I. vol. ii. pp. 72. 74, 75. 78, 79. 81.]

[k] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 29.]

[l] [See an account of his escape in a letter of Joseph Mede to Sir Martin Stuteville.—Birch's Court of Charles I. vol. ii. pp. 79, 80. The parties who aided in his escape were proceeded against in Star Chamber. — Rushworth's Collections, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 32.]

[m] [Ibid. pp. 81.-83.]

Dec. 7. Tuesday, The King sware the peace with Spain: A.D. 1630.
Don C. Colonna was ambassador [n].

Dec. 25. I preached to the King, Christmas-day.

Jan. 16. Sunday, I consecrated St. Catherine Creed Church in London [o].

Jan. 21. The Lord Wentworth, Lord President of the North [p], and I, &c. In my little chamber at London-house, Friday.

Jan. 23. I consecrated the Church of St. Giles in the Fields, Sunday [q].

Feb. 20. This Sunday morning, Westminster-Hall was found on fire, by the burning of the little shops or stalls kept there; it was thought, by some pan of coals left there over night: it was taken in time.

46 Feb. 23. Ash-Wednesday, I preached in Court at White-Hall.

Mar. 20. Sunday, His Majesty put his great case of conscience to me, about, &c.; which I after answered. God bless him in it.

The famine great this time: but in part by practice.

An. 1631.

Mar. 27. Coronation day, and Sunday, I preached at St. Paul's Cross [r].

April 10. Easter Monday, I fell ill with great pain in my throat, for a week. It was with cold taken after heat in my service, and then into an ague. A fourth part almost of my family sick this spring.

June 7. Tuesday, I consecrated the Chapel at Hammersmith [s].

[n] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. p. 75.]

[o] [See the burlesque account of this consecration, in Prynne's Cant. Doom, pp. 113, 114. These consecrations formed one of the charges against the Archbishop at his trial. See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xxxv. pp. 339, 340, in marg.]

[p] [Afterwards the celebrated Earl of Strafforde.]

[q] [See Prynne's Cant. Doom, pp. 119, 120. Roger Manwaring was then Rector; he was succeeded by Wm. Haywood, the Archbishop's Chaplain. See a description of the interior of this Church in Hierurgia Anglicana, pp. 69, 70.]

[r] [More correctly the day of the King's accession. This sermon was not printed till 1645. It is the seventh sermon in the collected edition.]

[s] [See the prayer on laying the first stone of this chapel, March 11, 1629, above, p. 96. The chapel was dedicated by the name of S. Paul. (Newcourt, Repert. vol. i. p. 610.)]

A.D. 1631. June 21. Tuesday, My nearer acquaintance began to
Junii 26. Saturday, settle with Do. S.[t] I pray God bless
D. S. us in it.

My business with L. T.[u], &c., about the trees which the King had given me in Shotover, towards my building in S. John's at Oxford[x]. Which work I resolved on in November last. And published it to the College about the end of March. This day discovered unto me that which I was sorry to find in L. T. and F. C.[y], *sed transeat.*

Julii 26. The first stone was laid of my building at St. John's.

Aug. 23. In this June and July were the great disorders in Oxford, by appealing from Doctor Smith then Vice-Chancellor. The chief ringleaders were Mr. Foord of Magdalen-Hall, and Mr. Thorne of Baliol College[z].

The Proctors, Mr. Atherton Bruch and Mr. John Doughty, received their appeals, as if it had not been *perturbatio pacis*, &c.[a]

The Vice-Chancellor was forced in a statutable way to appeal to the King.

The King with all the Lords of his Council then present, heard the cause at Woodstock, Aug. 23, 1631, being Tuesday in the afternoon.

The sentence upon the hearing was: That Foord, Thorne, and Hodges of Exeter Coll.[1], should be banished the University. And both the Proctors were commanded to come into the Convocation House, and there resign their office; that two others might be named out of the same Colleges. Doctor Prideaux, Rector of Exeter Coll., and Dr. Wilkinson, Principal of Mag. Hall, received a sharp admonition for their misbehaviour in this business.

[1] ['of Exeter Coll.' in marg.]

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[t] [Prynne suggests that this may be Dr. Smith, Bp. of Chalcedon. See Cant. Doom, p. 454.]

[u] [The Lord Treasurer.]

[x] [An account of these buildings is in Wood's Hist. of Colleges and Halls, pp. 547, 548. The King gave 200 tons of timber towards their erection.]

[y] [Sir Francis Cottington.]

[z] [See History of Chancellorship, pp. 49—70.]

[a] [This was forbidden by statute. See Corp. Stat. Univ. Oxon. tit. xxi. § 16, and authorities quoted in marg.]

Aug. 29. Monday, I went to Burntwood, and the next day began my visitation there, and so went on and finished it [b]. A.D. 1631.

Nov. 4. Friday, The Lady Mary, Princess, born at St. James's, *inter horas quintam et sextam matutinas*[c].

It was thought, she was born three weeks before her time.

Dec. 25. I preached at Court.

Jan. 1. The extreme wet and warm January, that ever was known in memory.

Feb. 15. I preached at Court, Ash-Wednesday.

Feb. 19. D. S. came to my chamber, troubled about going quite from Court at spring. First Sunday in Lent, after sermon.

47

An. 1632.

April 1. I preached at Court. Easter-day.

Maii 26. Saturday, Trinity Sunday-eve, I consecrated the Lord Treasurer's Chapel at Rochampton[d].

Maii 29. Tuesday, My meeting and settling upon express terms with K. B. in the gallery at Greenwich. In which business God bless me.

Junii 15. Mr. Francis Windebancke, my old friend, was sworn Secretary of State[e]; which place I obtained for him of my gracious master King Charles.

Junii 18. Monday, I married my Lord Treasurer Weston's eldest son[f], to the Lady Frances, daughter to the Duke of Lenox[g], at Roehampton.

Junii 25. Monday, D. S. with me at Fulham, *cum Ma.*, &c.

Junius. This was the coldest June clean through, that was ever felt in my memory.

Julii 10. Tuesday, Doctor Juxon, the Dean of Worcester,

[b] [The Diocese had already been visited by Laud in 1628. See Visitation Articles in vol. v.]

[c] [See Thanksgiving on this occasion, above, p. 104.]

[d] [See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xxxv. p. 341, in marg. This chapel was pulled down in 1777.]

[e] [In the room of Dudley Carleton, Visc. Dorchester, who had died the previous Ash-Wednesday. Prynne remarks on this entry, "To what end this instrument was advanced to this place of trust by Canterbury, and what good service he did the Priests, Jesuits, Nuncio, Papists, Pope, and his Nuncios therein, will appear in the sequel of this narration." (Hidden Works, pp. 122, 123.)]

[f] [Jerome Weston, his father's successor in the title. He died 1662.]

[g] [The youngest daughter of Esme Stuart, third Duke of Lennox, and second Duke of Richmond, whose death is mentioned above, Feb. 16, 1623.]

A.D. 1632. Julii 10. at my suit sworn Clerk of his Majesty's Closet. That I might have one that I might trust near his Majesty, if I grow weak or infirm; as I must have a time.

Julii 17. Tuesday, I consecrated the church at Stanmore Magna in Middlesex, built by Sir Jo. Wolstenham [h].

The cold summer, harvest not in within forty miles of London after Michaelmas, &c.

Dec. 2. Sunday, The small-pox appeared upon his Majesty; but God be thanked, he had a very gentle disease of it [i].

Dec. 27. Thursday, The Earl of Arun. set forward towards the Low Countries, to fetch the Q. of Bohemia and her children [k].

Dec. 25. I preached to the King, Christmas-day [l].

Jan. 1. My being with K. B. this day in the afternoon ..

K. B. ..... troubled me much; God send me a good issue out of it.

The warm open Christmas.

Jan. 15. Tuesday, K. B. and I unexpectedly came to some

K. B. clearer declaration of ourselves. Which God bless.

Feb. 11. Monday night, till Tuesday morning, the great fire upon London Bridge .... Houses burnt down.

Feb. 13. Wednesday, The feoffees, that pretended to buy in impropriations, were dissolved in the Chequer Chamber [m]. They were the main instruments for

[h] [See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xxxv. p. 342, in marg. The church was consecrated by the name of S. John the Evangelist. (See Newcourt, Repert. vol. i. p. 729.) Heylin (Cypr. Angl. p. 201) mentions that Bray and himself were chaplains on this occasion.

Sir John Wolstenholme was one of the Farmers of the Customs, and took great interest in the Arctic discoveries of that time.]

[i] [See the thanksgiving for the King's recovery, above, p. 104. Verses were published by the University of Oxford on this occasion, entitled, "Musarum Oxoniensium pro Rege σωτήρια."]

[k] [Thomas, Earl of Arundel, mentioned above, p. 191. The King of Bohemia had died Nov. 29. The Queen declined visiting England.]

[l] ["On Christmas-day, not only Bishop White, the Almoner, in his morning sermon to the household, but the Bishop of London also in his, some two hours after, to the King, made some sharp invectives against some points of Popery; and, which was much marvelled at by the auditory, quoted Calvin divers times with respect; which when Ph. Burlamachi was told in my presence, he said it was a good julep against a Parliament."—Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Jan. 3, 1632–3.—Birch's Court of Charles I. vol. ii. pp. 213, 214.]

[m] [See the proceedings in Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 150, seq.]

the Puritan faction to undo the Church. The criminal part reserved. A.D. 1632.

Feb. 28. Mr. Chancellor of London, Dr. Duck, brought me word how miserably I was slandered by some separatists. I pray God give me patience and forgive them.

Mar. 6. Ash Wednesday, I preached at White-Hall.

An. 1633.

April 13. The great business at the Council-table, &c. When the E. of Holland[n] made his submission to the King.

This April was most extreme wet, and cold, and windy.

48 Maii 13. Monday, I set out of London, to attend King Charles into Scotland.

Maii 24. The King was to enter into York in state. The day was extreme wind and rain, that he could not, all day long. I called it York Friday.

Junii 6. I came to Barwick. That night I dreamed that
K. B. K. B. sent to me in Westminster church, that he was now as desirous to see me, as I him, and that he was then entering into the church. I went with joy, but met another in the middle of the church, who seemed to know the business, and laughed; but K. B. was not there.

Junii 8. Saturday, Whitsun-eve, I received letters from
K. B. K. B. unalterable, &c. By this, if I return, I shall see how true or false my dream is, &c.

Junii 15. Saturday, I was sworn Counsellor of Scotland.

Junii 18. Tuesday after Trinity Sunday, King Charles crowned at Holyrood Church in Edinburgh[o]. I never saw more expressions of joy, than were after it, &c.

Junii 19. Wednesday, I received second letters from K. B.
K. B. no changeling, &c.

[n] [Henry Rich, Earl of Holland.]

[o] [The ceremony was performed by Archbishop Spottiswoode, and the sermon preached by Lindsay, Bishop of Brechin. Laud is accused of having acted in an overbearing way to the Archbishop of Glasgow, in thrusting him aside during the ceremony for not wearing his Canonical dress, and putting the Bishop of Ross in his place. (Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. p. 182.)]

A.D. 1633. K. B. Within three hours after, other letters from K. B. Believe all that I say, &c.

Junii 29. Friday, Letters from K. B. no D. true, if not to
K. B. my contentment, &c.

Junii 30. I preached to his Majesty in the chapel in Holyrood House in Edinburgh [p].

Julii 1. Monday, I went over Forth, to Brunt Island.

Julii 2. Tuesday, To St. Andrews.

Julii 3. Wednesday, Over Taye, to Dunde.

Julii 4. Thursday, To Faukland.

Julii 7. Sunday, To S. Johnston.

Julii 8. Monday, To Dunblain and Sterling. My dangerous and cruel journey, crossing part of the Highlands by coach, which was a wonder there.

Julii 9. Tuesday, To Lithcoe, and so to Edinburgh.

Julii 10. Wednesday, His Majesty's dangerous passage from Brunt Island to Edinburgh.

Julii 11. Thursday, I began my journey from Edinburgh towards London.

Julii 13. Friday, That night at Anderweek, I dreamed that L. L. came and offered to sit above me at the Co. Ta., and that L. H. came in, and placed him there [q].

Julii 20. Saturday, The King came from Scotland, to Greenwich; having come post from Barwick in four days.

Julii 26. Friday, I came to my house at Fulham, from Scotland.

Julii 28. Sunday, K. B. and I met. All the strange dis-
K. B. courses mistaken. And that which was a very high tide at ———— was then the lowest ebb at Greenwich that ever I saw. I went away much
Aug. 3. troubled; but all settled again well, Saturday following.

Aug. 4. Sunday, News came to Court of the Lord Arch- 49

[p] [Clarendon remarks, (Hist. of Rebell. vol. i. p. 146,) "He preached in the Royal Chapel at Edinburgh, (which scarce any Englishman had done before in the King's presence,) and principally upon the benefit of conformity, and the reverend ceremonies of the Church, with all the marks of approbation and applause imaginable."]

[q] [Hacket (Life of Williams, par. ii. p. 85) refers to this passage, and explains the initials to mean the Bishop of Lincoln, and Lord Holland.]

bishop of Cant.'s death; and the King resolved presently to give it me. Which he did, Aug. 6[r]. A.D. 1633.

Aug. 4. That very morning, at Greenwich, there came one to me, seriously, and that avowed ability to perform it, and offered me to be a Cardinal: I went presently to the King, and acquainted him both with the thing and the person.

Aug. 7. K.B. Wednesday, An absolute settlement between me and K. B., after I had made known my case at large. God bless me in it.

Aug. 14. Wednesday, A report brought to me, that I was poisoned.

Aug. 17. Saturday, I had a serious offer made me again to be a Cardinal: I was then from Court, but so soon as I came thither (which was Wednesday, Aug. 21) I acquainted his Majesty with it. But my answer again was, that somewhat dwelt within me, which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is.

Aug. 25. Sunday, My election to the Arch-Bp. was returned to the King, then being at Woodstock.

Sept. 19. Thursday, I was translated to the Arch-Bishopric of Canterbury. The Lord make me able, &c.

18. The day before, when I first went to Lambeth, my coach, horses, and men sank to the bottom of Thames in the ferry-boat, which was over-laden; but, I praise God for it, I lost neither man nor horse.

A wet summer, and by it a casual harvest. The rainy weather continuing till Novemb. 14, which made a marvellous ill seed-time. There was barley abroad this year, within 30 miles of London, at the end of October.

Nov. 13. Wednesday, Richard Boyer, who had formerly named himself Lodowick, was brought into the Star Chamber, for most grossly misusing me, and accusing me of no less than treason, &c. He had broke prison for felony when he did this. His censure is upon record[s]. And God forgive him.

[r] [The Congé d'élire is dated Aug. 12; the royal assent to the election, Sept. 4; and the restitution of the temporalities, Sept. 23. (Rymer, Fœd. VIII. iv. p. 60.)]

[s] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. iii. Appendix, pp. 64, 65.]

A.D. 1633. Nov. 13. About the beginning of this month the Lady Davis prophesied against me, that I should very few days outlive the fifth of November[t].

And a little after that, one Green came into the court at St. James's, with a great sword by his side, swearing, the King should do him justice against me, or he would take another course with me. All the wrong I ever did this man was, that being a poor printer, I procured him of the Company of the Stationers 5*l.* a-year during his life. God preserve me, and forgive him. He was committed to Newgate.

Nov. 24. Sunday, in the afternoon, I christened King Charles his second son, James Duke of York. At St. James's[u].

Dec. 10 and 29. Twice or thrice in the interim, I advertised his Majesty of the falsehood and practice that was against me, by L. T.[v], &c. This brake out then[1].

Jan. 1. The way to do the town of Reading good for their poor; which may be compassed by God's blessing upon me, though my wealth be small. And I hope God will bless me in it, because it was His own motion in me. For this way never came into my thoughts (though I had much beaten them about it) till this night, as I was at my prayers. Amen, Lord[w]. 50

An. 1634.

Mar. 30. Palm Sunday, I preached to the King at White-Hall.

Maii 13. I received the seals of my being chose Chancellor of the University of Dublin in Ireland. To which

[1] ['This . . . then.' in marg.]

[t] [Eleanor, the youngest daughter of George, Earl of Castlehaven, and widow of Sir John Davies, Attorney-General for Ireland. She laid claim to prophetical powers, and published in 1649 a volume of her strange and wonderful prophecies. She is said to have foretold the day of her husband's death. She was brought for these follies before the High Commission Court. A full account of her is given in Ballard's Learned Ladies. Heylin (Cypr. Angl. p. 250) mentions several amusing anagrams made on her name.]

[u] [See above, p. 105.]

[v] ['The Lord Treasurer.]

[w] [See the list of Projects at the end of Diary, No. xvi. An account of this benefaction to Reading is given in 'Original Letters, &c. relating to the Benefactions of Archbishop Laud to the County of Berks.' Lond. 1841.]

Maii 13. office I was chosen Sept. 14, 1633. There were now, and somewhat before, great fractions in Court: and I doubt, many private ends followed, to the prejudice of public service. Good Lord, preserve me. A.D. 1634.

Junii 11. Mr. Prynne sent me a very libellous letter, about his censure in the Star Chamber for his *Histriomastix*[x], and what I said at that censure; in which he hath many ways mistaken me, and spoken untruth of me.

Junii 16. I showed this letter to the King; and by his command sent it to Mr. Attorney Noye.

Junii 17. Mr. Attorney sent for Mr. Prynn to his chamber, showed him the letter, asked him whether it were his hand. Mr. Prynn said, he could not tell, unless he might read it. The letter being given into his hand, he tore it into small pieces, threw it out at the window, and said, that should never rise in judgment against him: fearing, it seems, an *Ore tenus* for this.

Junii 18. Mr. Attorney brought him, for this, into the Star Chamber; where all this appeared with shame enough to Mr. Prynn. I there forgave him, &c.[y]

Julii 26. I received word from Oxford, that the statutes were accepted, and published, according to my letters, in the Convocation House that week[z].

Aug. 9. Saturday, Mr. William Noye, his Majesty's Attorney-General, died at Brainford, *circa horam*

Aug. 10. *noctis decimam.* And Sunday morning, his servant brought me word of it to Croydon, before I was out of my bed. I have lost a dear friend of him, and the Church the greatest she had of his condition, since she needed any such.

Aug. 11. One Rob. Seal, of St. Alban's, came to me to Croydon; told me somewhat wildly about a vision he had at Shrovetide last, about not preaching the word sincerely to the people. And a hand appeared unto him, and death; and a voice bid him go tell

[x] [See an account of Prynne's censure in Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 220, seq. No mention is made of the Archbishop's speech.]

[y] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 247—249.]

[z] [See Hist. of Chancellorship, pp. 101—104.]

A.D. 1634. Aug. 11. it the Metropolitan of Lambeth, and made him swear he would do so; and I believe the poor man was overgrown with fancy. So I troubled not myself further, with him, or it.

Aug. 30. Saturday, At Oatlands the Queen sent for me, and gave me thanks for a business with which she trusted me; her promise then, that she would be my friend, and that I should have immediate address to her, when I had occasion[a].

Sept. 30. I had almost fallen into a fever with a cold I took; and it held me above three weeks. 51

Oct. 20. The extreme hot and faint October and November, save three days' frost, the dryest and fairest time. The leaves not all off the trees at the beginning of December. The waters so low, that the barges could not pass. God bless us in the spring, after this green winter.

Dec. 1. Monday, My ancient friend, E. R., came to me, and performed great kindness, which I may not forget.

Dec. 4. I visited the Arches, it was Thursday.

Dec. 10. Wednesday, That night the frost began, the Thames almost frozen; and it continued until the Sunday sevennight after.

Dec. 15. X. E. R.[1]

Janua. 8. Thursday, I married the Lord Charles Herbert[b] and the Lady Mary, daughter to the Duke of Buckingham, in the closet at White-Hall.

Janua. 5. Monday night, being Twelfth-eve, the frost began

[1] ['X. E. R.' in marg.]

[a] [Heylin (Cypr. Angl. p. 287) suggests, that the passages which speak of Laud's interviews with the Queen, may refer to the coming of Panzani into England, for whom the Queen wished to obtain a favourable reception. They were urged against him at his trial, (Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xl. pp. 382, 383,) and he expressly states, "As for religion, as there is no word of it in my Diary, so neither was it at this time thought on." See Prynne's remarks on these passages, Cant. Doom, p. 418.]

[b] [Charles Lord Herbert was the eldest son of Philip Earl of Pembroke. He died shortly afterwards, and his widow married, secondly, James Duke of Richmond and Lennox, (see below, Aug. 3, 1637,) and thirdly, Thomas Howard, brother to Charles Earl of Carlisle. Her marriage with Charles Herbert was urged prematurely forward, because she had begun to set her affections on his younger brother Philip. See Garrard's Letter to the Lord Deputy Wentworth, Jan. 11, 1634-5, Strafforde Letters, vol. i. p. 359.]

Janua. 5. again; the Thames was frozen over, and continued A.D. 1634.
so till February 3, 1634.

A mighty flood at the thaw[1].

Feb. 5. Thursday, I was put into the great Committee of trade and the King's revenue, &c.

Mar. 1. Sunday, The great business, which the King commanded me to think on and give him account, and L. T.

Mar. 14. Saturday, I was named one of the Commissioners for the Exchequer, upon the death of Rich. Lord Weston, Lord High Treasurer of England.

K. B. That evening, K. B. sent to speak with me at White-Hall, a great deal of free and clear expression, if it will continue.

Mar. 16. Monday, I was called against the next day into the Foreign Committee, by the King.

Mar. 22. Palm Sunday, I preached to the King at White-Hall.

An. 1635.

April 9. Wednesday, and from thenceforward, all in firm
K. B. kindness between K. B. and me.

Maii 18. Whitsun Monday, At Greenwich, my account to
Maii 24. the Queen put off till Trinity Sunday, then given her by myself. And assurance of all that was desired by me[c], &c.[2]

May, In these months, the troubles at the Commission
June, for the Treasury, and the difference which happened
July. between the Lord Cottington and myself, &c.[d]

Julii 11. Saturday, } Two sad meetings with K. B. and
Julii 22. Wednesday, } how occasioned.

Julii 12. Sunday, At Theobalds the soap business was ended, and settled again upon the new corporation, against my offer for the old soap-boilers; yet my offer made the King's profit double; and to that, after two[3] years, the new corporation was raised;

[1] ['A . . . thaw.' in marg.] [2] [A passage here erased.]
[3] [From thence to end of paragraph written on opposite side.]

[c] [See Prynne's remark on this passage, Cant. Doom, p. 418.]

[d] [See Clarendon, Hist. of Rebellion, vol. i. p. 174.]

A.D. 1635. Julii 12. how 'tis performed, let them look to it, whom his Majesty shall be pleased to trust with his Treasurer's staff. In this business and some other of great consequence, during the Commission for the Treasury, my old friend, Sir F. W., forsook me, and 52 joined with the L. Cottington; which put me to the exercise of a great deal of patience, &c.

Aug. 16. Sunday-night, Most extreme thunder and lightning. The lightning so thick, bright, and frequent, I do not remember that I ever saw.

Sept. 2. Wednesday, I was in attendance upon the King at Woodstock; and went thence to Cudsden, to see the house which Dr. John Bancroft, then L. Bp: of Oxford, had there built, to be a house for the Bps. of that See for ever[e]. He having built that house at my persuasion.

Sept. 3. Thursday, I went privately from the Bp. of Oxford's house at Cudsden, to S. John's in Oxford, to see my building there, and give some directions for the last finishing of it. And returned the same night, staying there not two hours.

Sept. 23. Wednesday, I went to Saint Paul's to view the building, and returned that night to Croydon.

Sept. 24. Scalding Thursday.

Sept. 29. The Earl of Arundel brought an old man out of Shropshire. He was this present Michaelmas-day showed to the King and the Lords, for a man of 152 or 153 years of age[f].

Oct. 26. Monday, This morning between four and five of the clock, lying at Hampton Court, I dreamed that I was going out in haste, and that when I came into my outer chamber, there was my servant, Wi. Pennell, in the same riding suit which he had on that day sevennight at Hampton Court with me. Methoughts I wondered to see him, (for I left him sick at home,) and asked him how he did, and what he made there. And that he answered me, he came to receive my blessing; and with that

[e] [See the King's Instructions to Abp. Laud, § xiii. in Annual Accounts of Province, A.D. 1634. Works, vol. v.]

[f] [This was Thomas Parr, the memorable instance of longevity. He was born in 1483.]

Oct. 26. fell on his knees. That hereupon I laid my hand A.D. 1635.
on his head, and prayed over him, and therewith awaked. When I was up, I told this to them of my chamber; and added, that I should find Pennell dead or dying. My coach came; and when I came home, I found him past sense, and giving up the ghost. So my prayers (as they had frequently before) commended him to God.

Nov. 15. Sunday, At afternoon the greatest tide that hath been seen. It came within my gates, walks, cloisters, and stables, at Lambeth.

Nov. 21. Saturday, Charles Count Elector Palatine[g] came to White-Hall, to the King.

This month the plague, which was hot in some parts of France and in the Low Countries, and Flanders, began at Greenwich. God be merciful unto us.

Nov. 30. Saint Andrew's-day, Monday, Charles Prince Elector Palatine, the King's nephew, was with me at Lambeth, and at solemn evening prayer.

Dec. 1. Many elm leaves yet upon the trees; which few men have seen.

Dec. 14. Monday, Charles Prince Elector came suddenly upon me, and dined with me at Lambeth.

Dec. 25. Christmas-day, Charles P. Elector received the Communion with the King at White-Hall. He
53 kneeled a little beside on his left hand. He sat before the Communion upon a stool by the wall before the traverse; and had another stool and a cushion before him to kneel at.

Dec. 28. Monday, Innocents'-day, About ten at night, the Queen was delivered at St. James's, of a daughter, Princess Elizabeth. I christened her on
Jan. 2. Saturday following.

Feb. 2. Tuesday, Candlemas-day, My nearer care of
J. S. J. S.[h] was professed, and his promise to be guided
Feb. 5. by me; and absolutely settled on Friday after.

[g] [Charles Louis, the eldest surviving son of Fred. Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth, King Charles's sister.]

[h] [It is suggested, that J. S. may mean John Selden, who was induced by Archbishop Laud, at this very time, to publish his "Mare clausum." (Heylin Cypr. Ang. p. 303.)]

A.D. 1635. Feb. 14. Sunday night, My honest old servant, Rich. Robinson[i], died of an apoplexy.

Feb. 28. I consecrated Doctor Roger Manwaring, Bishop of Saint David's[j].

Mar. 6. Sunday, William Juxon, L. Bp. of London, made Lord High Treasurer of England[k]. No Churchman had it since Henry 7. time[l]. I pray God bless him to carry it so, that the Church may have honour, and the King and the State service and contentment by it. And now if the Church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more.

An. 1636.

April 7. Thursday, The bill came in this day, that two died of the plague in Whitechapel. God bless us through the year.

An extreme dry and hot April and May, till the middle of June.

Maii 16. Monday, The settlement between L. M. St. and M. St. me. God bless me, &c.

Maii 17. Tuesday, I visited the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, London, &c.[m]

Maii 19. Thursday, The agreement between me and L. K. CH. K. Ch. which began very strangely, and ended just as I thought it would.

[i] [See above, at July 23, 1624.]

[j] [See above, p. 207, notes [i] and [h].]

[k] [Thomas Crosfield, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, from whose Diary many extracts are given in the notes to the Archbishop's History of his Chancellorship, gives the following anecdote relative to this appointment:—"March 9. The manner of the Lord Treasurer, *i.e.* the Bishop of London, was thus: Upon Ash Wednesday he was appointed to preach; after sermon the King thanked him. Then in the Council-house, at the table, the Earl of Pembroke being by, the King said, that the Treasurer's place had been some space void, and it was a place that concerned him nearly to place a man in, that might be discreet and provident for the good of his children which God had blessed him with. Such a conscionable man he thought might best be found among the Clergy, and among the Clergy I judge you, my Lord of London, the fittest, since you have no children, &c. to the like effect; and so delivered him a staff in token of possession of the place. Afterward he was sworn at the Lord Keeper's house, by special commission from the King."]

[l] ['Henry the VIth, viz. anno 1454, when Wm. Grey, Bp. of Ely, was possessed of it.'—Biogr. Brit. Art. JUXON, p. 2792, note [t].]

[m] [The Dean and Chapter had petitioned to the King not to be visited. But their petition was rejected. See Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iv. p. 524. The Articles of Inquiry, and the Injunctions grounded on the replies of the Chapter to those Articles, are published in vol. v.]

Junii 21. Tuesday, My hearing before the King about my right to visit both the Universities *jure metropolitico*. It was ordered with me. The hearing was at Hampton Court[n]. A.D. 1636.

Junii 22. Wednesday, The statutes of Oxford finished, and published in Convocation[o].

Aug. 3. Wednesday night, Towards the morning, I
Aug. 4. dreamed, that L. M. St. came to me the next day, and showed me all the kindness I could ask. And that Thursday he did come, and was very kind towards me. *Somniis tamen haud multum fido.*

Aug. 19. Friday, I was in great danger of breaking my right leg. But God be blessed; for His providence only delivered me.

Aug. 29. Monday, King Charles and Q. Mary entered Oxford; being to be there entertained by me as Chancellor of the University[p].

Aug. 30. On Tuesday, I entertained them at St. John's College. It was St. Felix his day; and all passed happily[1]. Charles Prince Elector Palatine, and his brother, Prince Rupertus, was there. These two were present in Convocation; and, with other nobles, were made Masters of Arts.

Aug. 31. Wednesday, They left Oxford, and I returned homewards the day after; having first entertained all the Heads of Houses together.

54 Oct. 14. Friday night, I dreamed marvellously, that the King was offended with me, and would cast me off, and tell me no cause why. *Avertat Deus.* For cause I have given none.

Nov. 4. Friday night, The most extreme wind that ever I heard; and much hurt done by sea and by land. Twice or thrice since, thunder and lightning and hail.

Nov. 20. Sunday night, My fearful dream. Mr. Cobb[q] brought me word, &c.

[1] ['and . . . happily.' in marg.]

[n] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 324—332; and Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iv. pp. 525. 528, 529.]

[o] [See History of Chancellorship, pp. 124, seq.]

[p] [Ibid. pp. 148, seq.]

[q] [Two persons of this name are mentioned in the Archbishop's will.]

A.D. 1636. Dec. 24. Saturday, Christmas-eve, That night I dreamed I went to seek M. St., and found him with his mother sitting in the room. It was a fair chamber. He went away, and I went after, but missed him; and after tired myself extremely; but neither could I find him, nor so much as the house again.

An. 1637.

Mar. 17. and 30. Thursday, I christened the Lady Princess Ann, King Charles his third daughter. She was born on Friday, March 17.

Junii 10. My book of the Records in the Tower, which concerned the Clergy, and which I caused to be collected, and written in vellum, was brought me finished. 'Tis ab ann. 20. Ed. I. ad ann. 14. Ed. IV.[r]

Junii 14. This day, Jo. Bastwick, Dr. of Physic; Heu. Burton, Batch. of Divinity; and Wi. Prynne, Barrister at Law, were censured for their libels against the Hierarchy of the Church, &c.[s]

Junii 26[t]. The speech I then spake in the Star Chamber, was commanded by the King to be printed. And it came out Junii the 25.

Junii 26. This day, Monday, the Prince Elector, and his brother Prince Rupert, began their journey toward the sea-side, to return for Holland.

Junii 30. Friday, The above-named three libellers lost their ears.

Julii 7. Friday, A note was brought to me of a short libel pasted on the cross in Cheapside: That the Arch-Wolf of Cant. had his hand in persecuting the saints and shedding the blood of the martyrs. Memento for the last of June[1].

[1] ['last of June.' now lost in MS.]

[r] It is a very noble and fair volume, in folio, curiously written, and richly bound. It is still kept in the Library at Lambeth.—H. W.

[See MSS. Lambeth. Numb. 323. The volume is thus described: 'Jura et Privilegia Clero Anglicano adjudicata, ex Parliamentorum Rotulis, ab anno 20. Edw. I. ad ann. 14. Edw. IV. deprompta, 1637. Scripta a Gulielmo Reyley Blewmantle; et dedicata Gul. Laud Archiep. Cantuar., cujus impens. Codex exaratus fuit, qui mira pulchritudine æque ac cura descriptus est. Subjungitur Index.'

See list of Projects at the end of the Diary. Numb. xix.]

[s] [See a further notice of these persons in the notes to the Archbishop's Speech at their censure, in vol. vi.]

[t] Forsan 16.—H. W.

Julii 11. Tuesday, Dr. Williams, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, A.D. 1637. was censured in the Star Chamber, for tampering and corrupting of witt.[u] in the King's cause; and

Julii 24. Julii 24, being Monday, he was suspended by the High Commission, &c.[x]

Aug. 3. Thursday, I married James Duke of Lenox, to the Lady Mary Villars, sole daughter to the L. Duke of Buckingham[y]. The marriage was in my chapel at Lambeth; the day very rainy; the King present.

Aug. 23. Wednesday, My L. Mayor sent me a libel found by the watch at the south gate of S. Paul's: That the devil had let that house to me, &c.

Aug. 25. Friday, Another libel brought me by an officer of the High Commiss., fastened to the north gate of S. Paul's: That the Government of the Church of England is a candle in the snuff, going out in a stench.

55 Aug. 25. The same day, at night, my Lord Mayor sent me another libel, hanged upon the standard in Cheapside. My speech in the Star Chamber, set in a kind of pillory, &c.

Aug. 29. Tuesday, Another short libel against me, in verse.

Oct. 22. Sunday, A great noise about the perverting of the La. Newport[z]. Speech of it at the Council[a]. My free speech there to the King, concerning the increasing of the Roman party, the freedom at Denmark House, the carriage of Mr. Wal. Montague[b]

[u] Witnesses.—H. W.

[x] [See Archbishop Laud's speech on this occasion, in vol. vi. A detailed account of the proceedings is given in Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 416—449.]

[y] [See above, p. 222.]

[z] [The wife of Montjoy Blount, natural son of Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, by Lady Rich, to whom he was afterwards married. He was created Earl of Newport, Aug. 3, 1628.]

[a] ["My Lord Newport was so fierce in complaining for his wife being made a Papist, that the matter was debated at the Council-table, where the King did use such words of Wat Montague and Sir Tobie Matthew, that the fright made Wat keep his chamber longer than his sickness would have detained him; and Don Tobiah was in such perplexity, that I find he will make a very ill man to be a martyr, but now the dog doth again wag his tail."—Lord Visc. Conway to the Lord Deputy, (without date.) Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 125.]

[b] [Walter Montague, younger son of Henry first Earl of Manchester. He became Romanist in 1635; and on retiring to France was appointed, by the interest of the Queen mother, first Abbot of Nanteuil, afterwards Abbot of S. Martin, near Pontoise, and ultimately (it is said) Archbishop of Guienne. (See Biog. Brit. p. 4047. note O, and Wood, F. O. vol. ii. pp. 284, 285.)]

A.D. 1637. Oct. 22. and Sr. Tobye Matthewe[c]. The Queen acquainted with all I said that very night; and highly displeased with me, and so continues.

Nov. 22. Wednesday, The extreme and unnatural hot winter weather began, and continued till Decemb. 8.

Dec. 12. Tuesday, I had speech with the Queen a good space, and all about the business of Mr. Montague, but we parted fair.

An. 1638.

April 29. The tumults in Scotland, about the Service-Book offered to be brought in, began Julii 23, 1637, and continued increasing by fits, and hath now brought that kingdom in danger. No question, but there's a great concurrence between them and the Puritan party in England. A great aim there to destroy me in the King's opinion, &c.

Maii 26. Saturday, James L. Marquess Hamilton set forth, as the King's Commissioner[d], to appease the tumults in Scotland. God prosper him, for God and the King. It was a very rainy day.

June. My visitation then began of Merton Coll. in Oxford, by my visitors[e]; was adjourned to my own hearing, against, and upon Octob. 2.

Oct. 2, 3, 4. I sat upon this business these three days, and adjourned it to Junii 1, *inter horas primam et tertiam*, Lambeth. The Warden[f] appeared very foul.

Oct. 19. Friday, News was brought to us, as we sat in the Star Chamber, That the Q. Mother of France[g] was landed at Harwitch.

Many and great apprehensions upon this business.

[c] [Eldest son of Dr. Toby Matthew, Archbishop of York. He was converted to the Romish Church by the persuasion of Parsons the Jesuit, and joined the Society of the Jesuits. On his return to England, from which he had been absent some years, he was knighted by James I., Oct. 10, 1623. He was taken into favour by Lord Strafforde, and went with him to Ireland, where he remained only a short time. He was employed, according to Prynne, (Cant. Doom, p. 456,) by Urban VIII., to reconcile England to the See of Rome. He died in 1655, in the College of the English Jesuits at Ghent.]

[d] [See the Commission in King Charles's 'Large Declaration,' pp. 77, 78. Lond. 1639.]

[e] [Their names are given in the preamble to the Injunctions. See Works, vol. v.]

[f] [Sir Nathaniel Brent.]

[g] [Mary de Medicis, driven from France by Card. Richelieu. The King went in state to meet her at Harwich.]

Oct. 19. Extreme windy and wet weather a week before and after. The watermen called it, 'Q: Mother weather.' A.D. 1638.

Oct. 26. Friday, A most extreme tempest upon the Thames. I was in it, going from the Star Chamber home, between six and seven at night. I was never upon the water in the like storm; and was in great danger at my landing at Lambeth Bridge.

Oct. 31. Wednesday, The Q. Mother came into London, and so to S. James's [h].

Nov. 13. Tuesday, The agreement between me and Ab. A. S. S., &c.

Nov. 21. Wednesday, The General Assembly in Scotland began to sit [i].

Nov. 29. Thursday, The proclamation issued out, for dissolving the General Assembly in Scotland, under pain of treason [k].

Dec. 20. They sat notwithstanding; and made many strange acts [l], till Decemb. 20, which was Thursday, and then they rose. But have indicted another assembly against July next.

56 Jan. 14. Monday, About five at night, a most grievous tempest of wind, thunder, lightning, and rain.

Feb. 10. My book against Fisher the Jesuit was printed [m]; and this day, being Sunday, I delivered a copy to his Majesty.

Feb. 12. Tuesday night, I dreamed, that K. C. was to be married to a minister's widow; and that I was called upon to do it. No Service-Book could be found; and in my own book, which I had, I could not find the Order for Marriage.

[h] [See an account of her reception by Henrietta Maria, in Strickland's Queens of England, vol. viii. p. 74. Lond. 1845.]

[i] [See the King's "Large Declaration," p. 234.]

[k] [Ibid. pp. 290. 294.]

[l] [Bishop Russell (Hist. of Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 169) sums up their proceedings in these words:—"They condemned the several assemblies by which Episcopacy had been sanctioned; released the ministers from the oaths which they had taken to their ecclesiastical superiors; deposed and excommunicated the two Archbishops with the greater number of the Bishops, degraded the remainder, and failed not to renew the expression of their abhorrence against the Canons, Liturgy, the Perth Articles, and the High Commission."]

[m] [This was the first separate edition. It will be remembered that it first appeared as an Appendix to White's "Reply to Jesuit Fisher's Answere." See above, p. 140, note [m].]

A.D. 1639. *An.* 1639.

Mar. 27. Wednesday, Coronation-day[n], King Charles took his journey northward, against the Scottish covenanting rebels[o]. God of His infinite mercy bless him with health and success.

Mar. 29. Friday, An extreme fire in St. Olave's parish, Southwark: forty houses burnt down.

April 3. Wednesday, Before the King's going, I settled with him a great business for the Queen; which I understood she would never move for herself. The Q. gave me great thanks. And this day I waited purposely on her, to give her thanks for her gracious acceptance. She was pleased to be very free with me, and to promise me freedom[p].

April 29. Monday, This day the King went from York toward Newcastle; but stays at Durham for a week at least.

Maii 8. His Majesty encamped two miles west from Barwick by Tweed.

Junii 4. Whitsun Tuesday, As I was going to do my duty to the Queen, an officer of the L. Mayor's met me, and delivered to me two very seditious papers; the one to the L. Mayor and Aldermen, the other to excite the apprentices, &c. Both subscribed by Jo. Lilburn, a prisoner in the Fleet, sentenced in the Star Chamber, &c.[q]

Junii 5. Wednesday, I delivered both these to the Lords of the Council.

Junii 15. Saturday and Monday, The peace concluded
Junii 17. between the King and the Scottish rebels[r]. God make it safe and honourable to the King and the kingdom.

[n] [See above, p. 213, note [r].]

[o] [See the prayer on this occasion, above, p. 105. The use of the word 'rebellious' in this prayer, was objected against the Archbishop by the Scotch Commissioners. (See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. iii. p. 131, in marg.)]

[p] [See Prynne's remark on this passage, Cant. Doom, p. 418. And see above, p. 222, note [a].]

[q] [Lilburn had been sentenced, Feb. 13, 1637-8, for publishing Prynne's 'News from Ipswich.' He was condemned to be whipped, to be set in the pillory, and to pay a fine of 500*l.* to the King. He became an active officer, and at last Lieutenant-Colonel in the Parliamentary Army, in which capacity he behaved very gallantly at Marston Moor. Ultimately he joined the sect of the Quakers; and died at Eltham, in Kent, Aug. 29, 1657.]

[r] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. iii. pp. 943—945.]

Junii 28. Friday, I sent the remainder of my manuscripts to Oxford, being in number 576 [s]. And about an hundred of them were Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian. I had formerly sent them above 700 volumes. A.D. 1639.

Aug. 1. Thursday, His Majesty came back from his northern journey to Theobalds, and to White-Hall

Aug. 3. on Saturday, Aug. 3.

Many varieties, since the Assembly held and ended in Scotland [t]. The bishops thrust out. The Parliament there yet sitting.

Oct. 11. Friday and Saturday, The Spanish navy was set

12. upon by the Hollanders in the Downs. The fight began to be hot, when they were past Dover. They were in all near 60 sail. The Spaniards suffered much in that fight, not without our dishonour, that they should dare to begin the fight there. But this is one of the effects of the Scottish daring [u].

Dec. 2. Monday, A. Sh. my chirurgeon in trust, gave me

A. Sh. great and unexpected ease in my great infirmity. But after, the weakness continued.

57 Dec. 5. * Thursday, The King declared his resolution for a Parliament, in case of the Scottish rebellion. The first movers to it were my L. Dep. of Ireland [v], my L. M. Hamilton, and myself. And a resolution voted at the Board, to assist the King in extraordinary ways, if the Parliament should prove peevish [x], and refuse, &c.

Dec. 27. Friday, Being St. John's day, at night, between 12 and 2 of the clock the next morning, the greatest wind that ever I heard blow. Many of the poor watermen at Lambeth had their boats tumbled up and down, as they lay on the land, and broken to pieces. One of my servants went into London, and durst not come home, the evening was so foul. And it was God's great blessing both on him and me. For that night, the shafts of two chimneys were blown down upon the roof of his chamber, and

[s] [See History of Chancellorship, pp. 225—227.]

[t] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. iii. pp. 952, seq.]

[u] [This was the great victory of Van Tromp, commonly known as the battle of the Downs.]

[v] [The Earl of Strafforde.]

[x] [This expression was objected against the Archbishop at his trial. See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xxiii. p. 230, in marg.]

A.D. 1639. Dec. 27. beat down both the lead and the rafters upon his bed; where had he been that night, he must have perished [y]. At Croydon, one of the pinnacles fell from the steeple, and beat down the lead and the roof of the Church, near 20 foot square.

Jan. 24. Friday, At night I dreamed, that my father (who died 46 years since) came to me; and, to my thinking, he was as well and as cheerful as ever I saw him. He asked me, what I did here? And after some speech, I asked him, how long he would stay with me? He answered, he would stay till he had me away with him. I am not moved with dreams; yet I thought fit to remember this.

Jan. 25. Saturday, St. Paul's, A very blustering and a tempestuous day.

Jan. 26. Sunday, I received the Queen's gracious assurance of her favour in the business which his Ma. had committed to me with others [1], &c.

Feb. 9. Sunday, *A large passage inserted, and afterwards blotted out.*

An. 1640.

April 13. Monday, The Parliament sat down. Called about the rebellion of Scotland.

April 14. Tuesday, The Convocation began at S. Paul's.

April 24. Friday, The hot contestation in the Lords' House, which should have precedence, the King's supply, or the Subjects' grievance. Voted in the Upper House for the King [z].

Maii 5. Tuesday, The Parliament ended, and nothing done. The Convocation continued.

May 9. and 11. Saturday, A paper posted upon the Old Exchange, animating prentices to sack my house upon the Monday following, early.

[1] ['with others,' inserted at a later time.]

[y] Hence may be corrected a great mistake committed by Heylin in the Life of the Archbishop, p. 450, [p. 422. Ed. 1671.] The relation also, which followeth in Heylin, p. 451, [pp. 422, 423,] concerning the accident which happened that night at Christ's Church, Canterbury, is a no less wide mistake, being unadvisedly taken, as well as the former, from Prynne, (Breviate of the Archbishop's Life, pp. 34, 35,) who not unwillingly took the latter from a lying pamphlet, wrote and published by that notorious villain, Richard Culmer, entituled, Cathedral News from Canterbury.—H. W.

[z] [See Nalson's Collection, vol. i. p. 331.]

H. W. *From this place, four pages*[a] *together in the original* A.D. 1640.
are in part burned, in the form of a crescent. This damage was done to the book while it was in Mr. Prynne's hands,
58 *before it was produced as evidence against the Archbishop at his trial. For, in the following History, at March* 13, 1643, *the Archbishop saith:*—I know into whose hands my book is fallen; but what hath been done with it, I know not. This is to be seen. Some passages in that book are half burnt out; whether purposely, or by chance, God knoweth[b]. *And the like words of the Archbishop occur afterwards, at July* 29, 1644:—That passage (*of Febr.* 11, 1640, *urged against the Archbishop out of his Diary*) is more than half burnt out, as is to be seen, whether of purpose by Mr. Prynne, or casually, I cannot tell; yet the passage is confidently made up, and read to your Lordships, as if nothing were wanting[c]. *It is indeed undeniably evident to any one who compareth the original with Prynne's printed copy, that this accident had befallen the book before Prynne had caused it to be transcribed for the press. Yet he taketh no notice of it, but filleth up the places with such words as himself pleaseth; and publisheth the whole without any distinction of his own additions. I have, partly from Prynne, partly from my own conjecture, supplied the mutilated places as well as I could; but have included all such suppletory words in crotchets; that so the reader may easily distinguish those words which are yet to be read in the original, from those which are not; and may judge, whether the several places be aptly filled up*[d].

May 11. Monday night, At midnight my house a[t Lam-]
beth was beset with 50[0 of] these rascal routers.
[I] had notice, and stren[gthened] the house as
well [as I] could; and God be [thanked, I had]
no harm; t[hey continued] there full two [hours].
Since I hav[e———for]tified my house as well as
I can; and hope all may be safe. But yet libels are
continually set up in all places of note in the city.

[a] [*leaves.*]
[b] [See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xxiii. p. 230, in marg.]
[c] [Ibid. chap. xlii. p. 408, in marg.]
[d] [The brackets, as now inserted, must be considered as representing the present state of the MS., and not the state in which it was found by H. Wharton.]

A.D. 1640. Maii 11. My deliverance was great; God make me thankful for it.

Maii 21. Thursday, One of the chief being taken[e], was condemned at Southwark, and hanged and quar-
May 23. tered on Saturday morning following.

Maii 15. But before this, some of these mutinous people came in the day-time, and brake the White Lion Prison[f], and let loose their fellows, both out of that prison and the King's Bench, and the other prisoners also out of the White Lion.

Maii 29. Friday, The Convocation sat after the ending of the Parliament till May 29, and then ended; having made in that time 17 Canons; which, I hope, will be useful to the Church[g].

Maii 29. The Bishop of Glocester, Godfrye Goodman, suspended for notorious scandal to the Church, in refusing, first to subscribe the Canons, and after to profess[h] a reservation[i]. He had long before been suspected as inclining to [Pop]ery.

The Canons were all [voted] *nemine dissenti*[*ente,*] save this Bishop, who had in general consented before.

Julii 10. Friday, I took my oath to the new Canons at the Council Table; and so did my L. Bp. of London; and after him the Bp. of Glocester submitted himself, and took the oath; and was released out of prison by the King's command.

Julii 22. Tuesday, I christened the King's young son, Henry, at Oatlands. The Queen was there happily
Julii 8. delivered of him, on Wednesday, being the day of 59
the solemn fast, about 6 of the clock in the evening.

Aug. 20. Thursday, His Majesty took his journey towards the north in haste, upon information that the Scots were entered the Monday before into England, and

[e] [See the Proclamation for the apprehension of the rioters, Rymer, Fœd. IX. iii. p. 7.]

[f] [In Southwark. It was situated at the south end of S. Margaret's Hill, near S. George's Church.]

[g] [They are reprinted in Nalson's Collection, vol. i. p. 542, seq.; Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iv. pp. 543, seq. And a narrative of the proceedings in Convocation is contained in Nalson's Collection, vol. i. pp. 351—376.]

[h] L. for professing.—H. W.

[i] [See a detailed account of Goodman's conduct in Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. ii. pp. 81—83, in marg.]

Aug. 20. meant to be at Newcastle by Saturday [k]. The Scots A.D. 1640. entered Aug. 20.[1]

Aug. 22. Saturday, A [vile] libel brought me, [found in] Covent Garden; ani[mating] the apprentices [and sol]diers to fall up[on me] in the King's absence.

Sept. 21. I received a [letter from] John Rockel, a m[an both by] name and person [unknown] to me[l]. He was [among the] Scots, as he tra[velled through the] Bishopric of [Durham] he heard them [inveigh and] rail at me [exceedingly, and that] they hoped shortly [to see me, as the Duke] was slain by [one least] suspected. His le[tter was to] advise me to look to myself.

Sept. 24. Thursday, A great Council of the Lords were called by the King to York [m], to consider what way was best to be taken to get out the Scots; and this day the meeting began at York, and continued till Octob. 28.

Oct. 22. Thursday, The High Commission sitting at S. Paul's, because of the troubles of the times. Very near 2,000 Brownists made a tumult at the end of the court, tore down all the benches in the consistory; and cried out, they would have no Bishop, nor no High Commission [n].

Oct. 27. Tuesday, Simon and Jude's eve, I went into my upper study, to see some manuscripts, which I was sending to Oxford [o]. In that study hung my picture, taken by the life. And coming in, I found it fallen down upon the face, and lying on the floor. The string being broken, by which it was hanged against the wall. I am almost every day threatened with my ruin in Parliament. God grant this be no omen [p].

[1] ['The . . . Aug. 20.' in marg.]

[k] [See the prayer used on this occasion, above, p. 106.]

[l] [See Rockel's Letter in Prynne's Hidden Works of Darkness, pp. 187, 188.]

[m] [See the Writ in Rushworth's Collections, vol. iii. p. 1257.]

[n] [See the Archbishop's Letter to Archbishop Usher, Oct. 23, 1640.]

[o] [See History of Chancellorship, pp. 293, 294.]

[p] [This passage was urged against the Archbishop at his trial. (Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xlii. p. 408, in marg.)]

A.D. 1640. [Nov. 3.] Tuesday, The Parliament began. The King [di]d not ride, but went by [w]ater to King's Stairs, and [th]rough Westminster-Hall to the Church, and so to the [Hou]se.

[Nov. 4.] Wednesday, The Convo[catio]n began at S. Paul's.

Nov. 11. Wednesday, Thomas Vis[count] Wentworth, Earl of [Straffor]d, accused to the Lords [by the] House of Commons, for [high] treason, and restrained to [the us]her of the House [q].

[Nov.] 25. Wednesday, He was sent to the Tower.

Dec. 2. Wednesday, A great debate in the House, that no B. should be so much as of the Committee for preparatory examinations in this cause, as accounted *causa sanguinis;* put off till the next day.

Dec. 3. Thursday, The debate declined.

Dec. 4. Friday, The King gave way, that his Councel should be examined upon oath in the E. of Strafford's case. I was examined this day.

Dec. 16. Wednesday, The Canons condemned in the House of Commons, as being against the King's prerogative, the fundamental laws of the realm, the liberty and propriety of the subject, and containing divers other things tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence [r]. Upon this I was made the author of [them,] and a Committee put upon me to [en]quire into all my actions, [and] to prepare a charge. 60

The same morning, in [the] Upper House, I was na[med as an] incendiary by [the Scot]tish Commissioners; and [a . . . .] complaint promised to [be drawn up] to-morrow.

I was consecrated Bishop of Saint David's, November 18, 1621.

Dec. 18. Friday, I w[as accu]sed by the House [of Commons] for high tre[ason, without] any particular [charge] laid against me; [which they] said, should be [prepared in] convenient time. [Mr. Denzell] Hollys [s] was the [man that brought] up the message [to the Lords. Soon] after, the charge [was brought into] the Upper House [by the Scottish]

[q] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. viii. (which is occupied exclusively with the Earl's trial), p. 3.]

[r] [The debate on the Canons began on Dec. 14. There is a detailed account of the speeches in Nalson's Collection, vol. i. pp. 666—679.]

[s] [Second son to John Earl of Clare.]

Dec. 18. Commissioners, [tending to] prove me an [incen- A.D. 1640.
diary,] I was presently [committed to the] gentleman us[her; but was permitted] to go in his comp[any to my house at Lam]beth[t], for a book or two to read in, and such papers as pertained to my defence against the Scots.

I stayed at Lambeth till the evening, to avoid the gazing of the people. I went to evening prayer in my chapel. The Psalms of the day, and chap. 50. Psal. 93, and 94.
of Esai, gave me great comfort. God make me worthy of it, and fit to receive it.

As I went to my barge, hundreds of my poor neighbours stood there, and prayed for my safety, and return to my house. For which, I bless God and them.

Dec. 21. Monday, I was fined 500*l.* in the Parliament House, and Sir John Lambe and Sir Hen. Martin, 250*l.* a piece, for keeping Sir Rob. Howard close prisoner in the case of the escape of the Lady Viscountess Purbecke out of the Gate-house; which lady he kept avowedly, and had children by her[u]. In such a case, say the imprisonment were more than the law allow; what may be done for honour and religion sake? This was not a fine to the King, but damage to the party[1].

[Dec. 23.] Wednesday, The Lords ordered me to pay the money presently; which was done.

[Jan. 21[x].] Thursday, A Parliament [man] of good note, and interessed [with] divers Lords, sent me word, [that] by reason of my patient [and m]oderate carriage since my [commit]ment, four Earls of great [power] in the Upper House [of] the Lords

[1] ['This . . . party.' note in marg.]

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[t] [Prynne remarks, (in margin of Breviate, p. 24,) 'Where he then burned most of his privy letters and papers.' See the Archbishop's Reply to this assertion, at the end of the Diary.]

[u] [See above, Jan. 21, and March 5, 1624, and Novemb. 1628. This case is also mentioned more in detail below, Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. v. p. 146, in marg.]

[x] [This date is inserted by H. Wharton on conjecture. But H. Wharton (above, p. 235) and the Archbishop himself (Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xlii. p. 408, in marg.) refer to it as "Feb. 11."]

A.D. 1640. [Jan. 21.] were not [now] so sharp against me [as at] first. And that now they [were] resolved only to se-[quester] me from the King's Coun[cil, and] to put me from my [Arch]bishopric. So I see, what justice I may expect; since here is a resolution taken, not only before my answer, but before my charge was brought up against me[y].

Feb. 14. Sunday, A. R.[z] And this, if I live, and continue Archbishop of Canterbury, till after Michaelmas-day come twelvemonth, anno 1642. God bless me in this.

Feb. 26. Friday, This day I had been full ten weeks in restraint at Mr. Maxwell's house. And this day, being St. Aug. day, my charge was brought up from the House of Commons to the Lords, by Sir Henry Vane the younger[1]. It consisted of fourteen articles. These generals they craved time to prove in particular. The copy of this general charge is among my papers. I spake something to it. And 61
the [co]py of that also is among my papers. I had favour [from the] Lords not to go to the [Tower] till the Monday foll[owing.]

Mar. 1. Monday, I went [in Mr.] Maxwell's coach to the [Tower.] No noise, till I ca[me into] Cheapside. But from [thence] to the Tower, I was [followed] and railed at by the [prentices and] the rabble, in great [numbers,] to the very Tower [gates, where I left] them; and I thank G[od, he made me] patient.

Mar. 9. Shrove-Tuesday, [. . . . .] was with me in [the Tower;] and gave great [engagements of his] faith to me.

Mar. 13. Saturday[a], [Divers Lords] dined with the L[ord Herbert[b], at his] new house by [Fox-Hall in] Lam-

[1] ['by . . . younger.' inserted in marg.]

[y] [This passage was urged against the Archbishop at his trial. Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xlii. p. 408, in marg.]

[z] [Query, do these letters signify "Appropriationes redimendæ"? This was a design on which the Archbishop had set his mind, but which he had not carried out.]

[a] The defects of this place are supplied from the following history.—H. W.

[b] [Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Worcester. He succeeded his father

beth. Three [of these Lords in the] boat together, [when one of] them saying, he [was sorry for my] commitment, beca[use the buil]ding of St. Paul's went [slow] on therewhile; the Lo[rd] Brooke[c] replied, I hope some of us shall live to see no one stone left upon another of that building. A.D. 1640.

Mar. 1[5]. Monday, A Committee for Religion settled in the Upper House of Parliament. Ten earls, ten bishops, ten barons. So the lay-votes shall be double to the clergy. This Committee will meddle with doctrine as well as ceremonies, and will call some divines to them to consider of the business. As appears by a letter hereto annexed, sent by the L. Bp. of Lincoln to some divines to attend this service[d]. Upon the whole matter, I believe this Committee will prove the national synod of England, to the great dishonour of this Church. And what else may follow upon it, God knoweth.

Mar. 22. Monday, The E. of Strafford's trial began in Westminster-Hall[e]; and it continued till the end of April, taking in the variation of the House of Commons, who after a long hearing drew a Bill of Attainder against him.

[*An.* 1641.]

[Mar. 25.] Thursday, A. Sh. performed his promise to the uttermost.

[May 1.] Saturday, The King came into the Upper House, [and] there declared before both Houses how diligently he [had] hearkened to all the proceedings with the E. of Strafford; [and] found that his fault, what[ever it was], could not amount to [high tre]ason: that if it went by [bill] it must pass by him; and [that] he could not with his con[scien]ce find him guilty, nor [would] wrong his conscience

as second Marquis of Worcester, and was active in the King's cause. He is known also as the author of 'The Century of Inventions.']

[c] [Robert Greville, who met with his death in so remarkable a manner when assaulting Lichfield cathedral on S. Chad's day. See Clarendon's Hist. of Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 455. Oxf. 1826; and South's Sermons, vol. i. p. 185. Oxf. 1823. See also below, p. 249. March 2, 1642.]

[d] [See History of Troubles and Trial, chap. viii. pp. 174, 175, in marg.]

[e] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. viii. pp. 101, seq.]

A.D. 1641. May 1. [so f]ar. But advised them to pro[ceed] by way of misdemeanour; [and he] would concur with them[f]. The same day, after the [King] was gone, a letter was [read] in the Upper House from the Scots, in which they did earnestly desire to be gone. It was moved for a present conference with the House of Commons about it. The debate about it was very short; yet the Commons were risen beforehand.

Maii 12. Wednesday, The Earl of Strafford beheaded upon Tower-Hill.

Junii 23. Wednesday, I acquainted the King by my Ld. of London, that I would resign my Chancellorship of Oxford, and why[g].

Junii 25. Friday, I sent down my resignation of the Chancellorship of Oxford, to be published in Convocation[h].

Julii 1. Thursday, This was done; and the E. of Pembroke chosen Chancellor by joint consent. 62

Aug. 10. Tuesday, The King went post into Scotland. The Parliament sitting, and the armies not yet dissolved.

Sept. 23. Thursday, Mr. Adam Torless, my ancient, loving and faithful servant, then my steward, after he had served me full forty-two years, died, to my great loss and grief[i].

Oct. 23. The Lords in Parliament sequestered my jurisdiction to my inferior officers[k], and ordered, that I should give no benefice without acquainting them first to whom I would give it, that so they might

Nov. 2. approve. This order was sent me on Tuesday, November 2, in the afternoon.

Nov. 1. News came to the Parliament of the troubles in Ireland. The King being then in Scotland, where there were troubles enough also.

Nov. 25. Thursday, The King at his return from Scotland was sumptuously entertained in London, and great joy on all hands. God prosper it.

[f] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. viii. p. 734.]

[g] [See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. x. p. 181 in marg.]

[h] [See Hist. of Chancellorship, pp. 298, seq.]

[i] [The Abp. speaks more fully of the valuable services of this faithful attendant in Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. x. p. 182 in marg.]

[k] [At the suggestion of Abp. Williams. See ibid. chap. xi. p. 183 in marg.]

Dec. 30. Thursday, The Archbishop of York[l], and eleven bishops more[m], sent to the Tower for high treason, for delivering a petition and a protestation into the House, that this was not a free Parliament, since they could not come to vote there, as they are bound, without danger of their lives. A.D. 1641.

Jan. 4. 164½. Tuesday, His Majesty went into the House of Commons, and demanded the persons of Mr. Denzill Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Jo. Pym, Mr. Jo. Hampden, and Mr. Wi. Strode, whom his Attorney[n] had the day before, together with the Ld. Kimbolton[o], accused of high treason, upon seven articles. They had information, and were not then in the House; they came in after, and great stir was made about this breach of the privileges of Parliament.

Feb. 6. Saturday, Voted in the Lords' House, that the bishops shall have no votes there in Parliament. The Commons had passed that bill before. Great ringing for joy, and bonfires in some parishes.

Feb. 11. Friday, The Queen went from Greenwich toward Dover, to go into Holland with her daughter, the Princess Mary, who was lately married to the Prince of Orange his son[p]. But the true cause was, the present discontents here. The King accompanied her to the sea.

Feb. 14. His Majesty's message to both Houses, printed, by which he puts all into their hands; so God bless us[q].

Feb. 14. An order came, that the twelve bishops might put in bail, if they would; and that they should have their hearing upon Friday, Feb. 25. They went out of the Tower on Wednesday, Feb. 16, and

[l] [John Williams, translated Dec. 4, 1641.]

[m] [Thomas Morton, Bp. of Durham; Joseph Hall, Bp. of Norwich; Robert Wright, Bp. of Cov. and Lich.; John Owen, Bp. of St. Asaph; William Pierce, Bp. of Bath and Wells; George Coke, Bp. of Hereford; Matthew Wren, Bp. of Ely; Robert Skinner, Bp. of Oxford; Godfrey Goodman, Bp. of Gloucester; John Towers, Bp. of Peterborough; and Morgan Owen, Bp. of Llandaff.]

[n] [Sir Edward Herbert, afterwards made Lord Keeper.]

[o] [Edward Montagu, the eldest son of the Earl of Manchester; afterwards his successor in the title, and a Parliamentary General. He was now a member of the House of Peers.]

[p] [By this marriage she was the mother of William the Third.]

[q] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. iv. p. 553.]

A.D. 1641. Feb. 14. were sent in again, Feb. 17, the House of Commons, on Wednesday night, protesting against their coming forth, because they were not in a parliamentary way made acquainted with it.

Feb. 20. Sunday, There came a tall man to me, under the name of Mr. Hunt. He professed he was unknown to me; but came (he said) to do me service in a 63
great particular; and prefaced it, that he was not set on by any statesman, or any of the Parliament. So he drew a paper out of his pocket, and shewed me 4 Articles drawn against me to the Parliament, all touching my near conversation with priests, and my endeavours by them to subvert religion in England. He told me the Articles were not yet put into the House: they were subscribed by one Willoughby, who (he said) was a priest, but now come from them. I asked him what service it was he could do me. He said, he looked for no advantage to himself. I conceived hereupon this was a piece of villany: and bade him tell Willoughby he was a villain; and bid him put his Articles into the Parliament, when he will. So I went presently into my inner chamber, and told Mr. Ed. Hyde [r], and Mr. Rich. Cobb [s], what had befallen me. But after I was sorry at my heart, that my indignation at this base villany made me so hasty to send Hunt away; and that I had not desired Mr. Lieutenant to seize on him, till he brought forth this Willoughby.

Feb. 25. Friday, The Q. went to sea for Holland, and her eldest daughter the Princess Mary with her.

Mar. 6. Sunday, After sermon, as I was walking up and down my chamber before dinner, without any slip or treading awry, the sinew of my right leg gave a great crack, and brake asunder in the same place where I had broken it before, Feb. 5, 162$\frac{1}{8}$ [t].

Orders about Stisted [u].

[r] [Afterwards the celebrated Earl of Clarendon.]
[s] [His faithful servant. See Will.]
[t] [See prayer on this occasion, above, pp. 82, 83.]
[u] [See a full account of the business relating to Stisted in Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xv. p. 194 in marg.]

[*An.* 1642.] A.D. 1642.

It was two months before I could go out of my
Maii 15. chamber. On Sunday I made shift between my man and my staff to go to church. There one Mr. Joslin[x] preached, with vehemency becoming Bedlam, with treason sufficient to hang him in any other State, and with such particular abuse to me, that women and boys stood up in the church to see how I could bear it. I humbly thank God for my patience.

All along things grew higher between the King and the Parliament. God send a good issue.

Maii 29. Four ships came into the river, with part of the ammunition from Hull[y].

Aug. 22. Monday, The King set up his standard at Nottingham.

Aug. 24. The Parliament having committed three officers of the ordnance, and sent two new ones in the room; this day they brake open all the doors, and possessed themselves of the stores.

Aug. 27. Saturday, E. of Southampton[z] and Sir Jo. Culpepper[a] sent from the K. to have a treaty for peace[b]. Refused. Unless the K. would take down his standard, and recal his proclamation which made them traitors[c].

Sept. 1. Thursday, Bishops voted down, and Deans and Chapters[1], in the Lower House. That night bonfires and ringing all over the city: ordered cunningly by Pennington the new L. Mayor[d].

64 Ante ult. Aug. About this time the Cathedral of Canterbury grossly profaned.

[1] ['and ... chapters,' in marg.]

[x] [Ralph Josselin was at this time Vicar of Earl's Colne. Was this the person?]

[y] [Sent by Sir John Hotham, who had garrisoned Hull by order of Parliament.]

[z] [Thomas Wriothesley, the father of Lady Rachel Russell.]

[a] [Chancellor of the Exchequer, afterwards Master of the Rolls, and a Peer.]

[b] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. iv. p. 784.]

[c] [Ibid. p. 785.]

[d] [Isaac Pennington, chosen in the room of Sir R. Gurney; afterwards made Governor of the Tower, and appointed one of the King's Judges, though he did not take his seat among them.]

A D. 1642. Sept. 9. Friday, An Order from the House, about the giving of Allhallows-Bread-street.

The E. of Essex set forward towards the King.

Sept. 10. [Bishops] voted down in the upper House (*Dubitatur*).

Oct. 15. Saturday, Resolved upon the question, that the fines, rents, and profits of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, and of such notorious delinquents who have taken up arms against the Parliament, or have been active in the commission of array, shall be sequestered for the use and service of the Commonwealth.

Oct. 23. Sunday, Keinton[c] Field[1].

Oct. 24. Monday, An Order from the House. Keep but two servants, speak with no prisoner or other person, but in the presence of my warder, (this common to other prisoners[2].) This order not shown me till Oct. 26. And I sent a petition to the House for a cook and a butler, Thursday. This order revoked, Friday: And this granted me. Wednesday, Mr. Cook's relation to me of some resolutions taken in the city, &c.

Oct. 26.

Oct. 27.

Oct. 28.

Nov. 2. Wednesday night, I dreamed the Parliament was removed to Oxford; the Church undone: some old courtiers came in to see me, and jeered: I went to St. John's, and there I found the roof off from some parts of the College, and the walls cleft, and ready to fall down. God be merciful.

Nov. 8. Seventy-eight pounds of my rents[3] taken from my controller, by Mr. Holland and Mr. Ashurst[4], which they said was for maintenance of the King's children.

Nov. 9. Wednesday morning, Five of the clock, Captain Brown and his company entered my house at Lam-

[1] ['Keinton Field.' in marg.]
[2] ['(this . . . prisoners.)' in marg.]
[3] ['of my rents' in marg.]
[4] ['Rushworth' inserted originally, then erased.]

[c] [Better known as Edge Hill.]

Nov. 9. beth, to keep it for public service; and they made A.D. 1642. of it[1]

The Lords, upon my petition to them, denied they knew of any such order, and so did the Committee; yet such an order there was, and divers Lords' hands to it; but upon my petition they made an order that my books should be secured and my goods.

Nov. 10. Some Lords went to the King about an accommodation[f].

Nov. 12. Saturday, A fight about Brainford; many slain of the Parliament's forces, and some taken prisoners. Such as would not serve the King, were sent back with an oath given them[2]. The fight is said to begin casually about billetting. Since this, voted in the House for no accommodation, but to go on, and take all advantages.

Nov. 16. Wednesday, An order to bar all prisoners' men from speaking one with another, or any other, but in presence of the warder; nor go out without the lieutenant's leave[3]: and to bar them the liberty of the Tower.

65 Nov. 22. Tuesday, Ordered, That any one of them may go out to buy provision.

Nov. 24. Thursday, The soldiers at Lambeth House brake open the chapel door, and offered violence to the organ; but before much hurt was done, the captains heard of it, and stayed them.

Dec. 2. Friday, Some of the King's forces taken at Farnham.

About an hundred of them brought in carts to London: ten carts full. Their legs bound. They were sufficiently railed upon in the streets.

Dec. 19. Monday, My petition for Mr. Coniers[g] to have

[1] [These two entries of Nov. 8 and 9 originally transposed. This sentence left imperfect.]
[2] ['Such . . . them.' inserted on opposite page.]
[3] ['nor . . . leave:' in marg.]

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[f] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. v. pp. 56—58.]
[g] [The Lecturer at Bow. He appears to have been a relation of Sir John Coniers, the Lieutenant of the Tower, who applied to Laud in his

A D. 1624. Dec. 19. the vicarage of Horsham. Before it came to be delivered, the House had made an order against him, upon complaint from Horsham of his dis-

Dec. 21. orderly life. So I petitioned for my chaplain,

St. Tho- Mr. W. Brackstone[h]. Refused: yet no exception

mas's taken[1].

day. That day, in the morning, my young dun horse was taken away, by warrant under the hands of Sir Jo. Evelyn[i], Mr. Pim[k], and Mr. Martin[l].

Dec. 23. Thursday, Dr. Layton[m] came with a warrant from the House of Commons[2] for the keys of my house to be delivered to him, and more prisoners to be brought thither, &c.

Jan. 5. A final order from both Houses for settling of

164⅔ Lambeth prison, &c.

Thursday. All my wood and coals spent, or to be spent there, not reserving in the order that I shall have any for my own use; nor would that motion be hearkened to.

Jan. 6. Friday, Epiphany, E. of Manchester's letter from the House, to give Allhallows, Bread-street, to Mr. Seaman[n].

Jan. 26. Thursday, The bill passed the Lds.' House for abolishing Episcopacy, &c.

Feb. 3. Friday, Dr. Heath[o] came to persuade me to give Chartham[p] to Mr. Corbet[q], &c.

[1] ['yet . . . taken.' inserted on opposite page.]
[2] ['from . . . Commons' in marg.]

behalf. See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xvi. p. 198 in marg.]

[h] [Son of an Alderman of Reading. He was elected to S. John's College, Oxford, from Reading School.]

[i] [Of West Dean, in Wilts.]

[k] [John Pym, the keen opponent of the Archbishop.]

[l] [Henry Marten, one of the regicides.]

[m] [Alexander Leighton, the author of 'Sion's Plea against Prelacy.' Laud considered the appointment of Leighton to the charge of Lambeth Palace as a studied indignity. See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xvi. p. 198 in marg.]

[n] [See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xvi. p. 199 in marg. Lazarus Seaman, Chaplain to the Earl of Northumberland, was afterwards appointed Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. He was ejected at the Restoration, and died Sept. 9, 1675.]

[o] [Laud (Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xvii. p. 200 in marg.) mentions that he was of Merton College. Wood (F. O. i. 475) mentions a Dr. Heath of that House, who was Chancellor of Peterborough, and who afterwards became a Romanist. He was probably the same person.]

[p] [Vacant by the death of Dr. Isaac Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury.]

[q] [Edward Corbet, of Merton College. See Hist. of Chancellorship, p. 133.]

Feb. 14. Tuesday, I received a letter[r], dated Jan. 17[1], from A.D. 1642. His Majesty, to give Chartham to Mr. Reddinge[s], or lapse it to him.

That afternoon, the E. of Warwick[t] came to me, and brought me an order of the House to give it to one Mr. Culmer[u]. This order bare date, Feb. 4.

Feb. 25. Saturday, Mr. Culmer came to me about it. I told him I had given my L. my answer.

Mar. 2. Thursday, S. Cedd's day. The Lord Brooke shot in the left eye, and killed in the place, at Lichfield, going to give the onset upon the close of the church, he having ever been fierce against Bps. and cathedrals: his beaver up, and armed to the knees, so that a musket at that distance could have done him but little harm. Thus was his eye put out, who about two years since said, he hoped to live to see at S. Paul's not one stone left upon another[x].

Mar. 10. Friday, This night preceding, I dreamed a warrant was come to free me; and that I spake with Mr. Lieutenant, that my warder might keep the keys of my lodging, till I had got some place for

[1] ['dated Jan. 17,' inserted above the line]

[r] [This letter is recorded by Prynne (Breviate, pp. 32, 33):—

"Charles Rex,

"Most reverend Father in God, and right-trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.

"We are informed that Dr. Isaac Bargrave, Dean of our Cathedral of Cant., is very lately deceased, and by his death the Parsonage of Chartham, near Cant., became void. Many good motives and reasons have graciously inclined us to favour therewith John Reading, Clerk, now beneficed at Dover, in our County of Kent, but deprived, as we understand, of the small livelihood he had thence accruing by the perverse disposition of some of his turbulent parishioners. Wherefore we very earnestly desire you to bestow the Parsonage of Chartham upon the said John Reading, or at the least, that if you shall be restrained from so doing by either or both Houses of Parliament, you then forbear to present any other to the same, that so the said Parsonage lapsing into our gift, we may, as we intend, confer it on him. This we are confident of from you, both in regard of the person's worthiness and sufferings, and that we shall therein receive very good content and satisfaction. Given at our Court at Oxford, the 27th (17th?) of January, 1642."]

[s] [John Reading, of S. Mary's, Dover, where he was cruelly treated by the Puritans. He was presented to a stall in Cant. Cath.; but did not enjoy either that or the Rectory of Chartham till the Restoration. (Wood, Ath. Ox. iii. 794—796.)]

[t] [Robert Rich, a great favourer of the Puritans.]

[u] [The notorious Richard Culmer, the profaner of Cant. Cathedral, of whom more hereafter.]

[x] [See above, p. 241, March 13, 1640.]

A.D. 1642. Mar. 10. myself and my stuff, since I could not go to Lambeth. 66

I waked, and slept again, and had the very same dream a second time.

Mar. 20. Monday, The L. of Northumberland [y], Mr. Parpoint [z]; Sir Jo. Holland [a], Sir Wi. Ermin [b], and Mr. Whitlock [c], went from both Houses to treat of peace with his Majesty [d]. God of his mercy bless it and us.

Mar. 24. Friday, One Mr. Foord told me (he is a Suffolk man) that there was a plot to send me and Bp. Wrenn, as delinquents, to New England within fourteen days; and that Wells [e], a minister that came thence, offered wagers of it. The meeting was at Mr. Barks' a merchant's house in Friday-street, being this Foord's son-in-law. I never saw Mr. Foord before.

[*An.* 1643.]

Mar. 28. Tuesday, Another order from the Lords to give Chartham to one Mr. Edw. Hudson. My answer, as before.

April 11. Another order for the same, and very peremp-
Tuesday[1]. tory. This came to me April 12, whereupon I
April 13. petitioned the House, Thursday, April 13. My former answer being wilfully mistaken by Hudson.

That present day another order, very quick;
April 14. which was brought to me Friday, April 14. I petitioned the House again the same day with great submission, but could not disobey the King.

April 12. Another peremptory order, to collate Chartham on Mr. Edw. Corbet [f], brought to me Saturday,

[1] ['Wednesday' erased. Tuesday in marg.]

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[y] [Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland.]

[z] [William Pierrepoint, second son of the Earl of Kingston.]

[a] [Afterwards one of the Commissioners to treat with Charles II. at the Hague.]

[b] [Sir William Armyne, many times employed by Parliament in public commissions.]

[c] [Bulstrode Whitlock, afterwards one of the Commissioners of the Parliamentary Great Seal, and one of Cromwell's Lords.]

[d] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. v. p. 175.]

[e] [Wells had been suspended by Laud when Bp. of London. See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xx. pp. 213, 214, in marg.]

[f] [See above, p. 248. note a.]

April 22. April 22. I gave my Answer as before, but in A.D. 1613.
April 24. as soft terms as I could. Monday, April 24.
April 25. Tuesday, It was moved in the House of Commons to send me to New England; but it was rejected[g]. The plot was laid by Peters, Wells, and others.
Maii 1. Monday, My chapel windows at Lambeth defaced, and the steps torn up.
Maii 2[1]. Tuesday, The cross in Cheapside taken down[h].
Maii 9. Tuesday, All my goods seized upon, books and all. The seizers were Capt. Guest, Layton, and Dickins. The same day an order for further restraint of me, not to go out of it without my keeper. This order was brought to me Maii 10.
Maii 16. Tuesday, An order of both Houses for the disposing of my benefices, &c. void, or to be void[i]. This order
Maii 17. was brought to me Wednesday, Maii 17, at night. Methinks I see a cloud rising over me about Chartham business; there having been a rumour twice that I shall be removed to a prison lodging.
Maii 23. Tuesday, I sent my petition for maintenance. This day the Queen was voted a traitor in the Commons' House.
Maii 19[j]. Saturday, Another order to collate Edward Corbet
Maii 26. to Chartham. It was brought to me Friday, Maii 26.
Maii 27. I answered it Maii 27, as before.

67 H. W. *Thus far the Archbishop had proceeded in his* Diary; *when it was violently seized, and taken out of his pockets by William Prynne, on the last day of May* 1643. *The seizure of it is related by Prynne himself,* (*Breviate of the Archbishop's Life, p.* 28,) *and gloried in as a most worthy action. But the barbarous manner of it is more largely described by the Archbishop himself in the following History*[k].

[1] [These two entries of May 1 and 2, precede the one of April 25.]

[g] [There was published at this time a burlesque petition, entitled 'A Copy of the Petition presented to the Honourable Houses of Parliament, by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, wherein the said Archbishop desires that he may not be transported beyond the seas to New England, &c. London, 1643.']

[h] [One of the nine crosses erected by Edward I. to the memory of his Queen Eleanor. John Evelyn mentions being present at its destruction.]

[i] [See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xvii. p. 203 in marg.]

[j] Leg. 20.—H. W.

[k] [See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xviii. pp. 205, 206, in marg.]

A.D. 1643. *After the book came into his enemies' hands, it was frequently urged against him as evidence at his trial; and when the trial was near finished, Prynne caused it to be printed, and published it in the beginning of September* 1644, *but corrupted, and in part only; of which see before in the Preface. The Archbishop had almost filled up his paper book (wherein he wrote this Diary), when it was taken from him. But in the last leaf of it are found certain projects wrote with his own hand, (at what time, or in what year, is uncertain,) which I have subjoined.*

68 THINGS WHICH I HAVE PROJECTED TO DO, IF GOD BLESS ME IN THEM.

I. Blotted out.

II. To build at S. John's in Oxford, where I was bred up, for the good and safety of that college [a]. Done [1].

III. To overthrow the feoffment, dangerous both to Church and State, going under the specious pretence of buying in impropriations [b]. Done [2].

IV. To procure King Charles to give all the impropriations, yet remaining in the crown, within the realm of Ireland, to that poor Church [c]. Done, and settled there [3].

V. To set upon the repair of S. Paul's church in London [d]. Done [4].

VI. To collect and perfect the broken, crossing, and imperfect statutes of the University of Oxon; which had lain in a confused heap some hundred of years. Done [e].

VII. Blotted out.

VIII. To settle the statutes of all the cathedral churches of the new foundations; whose statutes are imperfect, and not confirmed [f]. Done for Canterbury [5].

[1] ['Done.' in marg.]
[2] ['Done.' in marg.]
[3] ['Done . . . there.' in marg.]
[4] ['Done.' in marg.]
[5] ['Done for Canterbury.' in marg.]

[a] [See above, July 26, 1631, p. 214.]

[b] [See above, at Feb. 13, 1632, p. 216. This was brought against the Archbishop in the 6th additional Article at his trial. See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xxxix. p. 371 in marg.]

[c] [Laud brings this point under the notice of Strafford, in the first letter written to him after he became Lord Lieutenant. This was another of the charges against him. (Ibid. chap. xxx. pp. 296, 297, in marg.) Bp. Vesey, in the Life of Abp. Bramhall, prefixed to his Works, fol. Dubl. 1677, p. 15, states that "he is said to have designed 40,000*l.* for the purchase of impropriations in Ireland out of his own purse."]

[d] [The Commission for this purpose was dated April 10, 1631. The whole sum expended on the work was upwards of 100,000*l.* This also was urged against the Archbishop at his trial. Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xxv. pp. 244, seq. in marg.]

[e] [He entered on this project immediately on his election to the Chancellorship. See Hist. of Chancellorship, p. 13. This was brought forward at his trial. Ibid. chap. xxxi. pp. 304, 305, in marg.]

[f] [This formed one of the charges

IX. To annex for ever some settled commendams, and those, if it may be, *sine curâ*, to all the small bishopricsᵍ. Done for Bristol, Peterborough, S. Asaph, Chester, Oxford[1].

X. To find a way to increase the stipends of poor vicars.

XI. To see the tithes of London settled, between the clergy and the cityʰ.

XII. To set up a Greek press in London and Oxford, for printing of the library manuscripts; and to get both letters and matricesⁱ. Done for London[2].

XIII. To settle eighty pounds a-year for ever, out of Dr. Fryar's lands, (after the death of Dr. John Fryar the son,) upon the fabric of S. Paul's, to the repair, till that be finished, and to keep it in good state after.

XIV. To procure a large charter for Oxford, to confirm their ancient privileges, and obtain new for them, as large as those of Cambridge, which they had gotten since Henry VIII. 69
which Oxford had notᵏ. Done[3].

XV. To open the great square at Oxford between S. Mary's and the schools, Brasen-nose and All Souls.

XVI. To settle an hospital of land in Reading, of one hundred pounds a-year, in a new way. I have acquainted Mr. Barnard, the vicar of Croydon, with my project. He is to call upon my executors to do it; if the surplusage of my goods (after debts and legacies paid) come to three thousand pounds. Done to the value of two hundred pounds per annum[4][l].

[1] ['Done . . . Oxford.' in marg.]
[2] ['Done for London.' in marg.]
[3] ['Done.' in marg.]
[4] ['Done . . . annum.' in marg.]

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against him. Ibid. p. 306 in marg. Such statutes as can be obtained, will be published with similar documents in vol. v.]

ᵍ [See ibid. chap. xxx. p. 298 in marg.]

ʰ [See ibid. chap. xxv. pp. 251, 252, in marg.]

ⁱ [See the Abp.'s Letter to the King's Printers, Jan. 18, 1633. Frequent mention is made in the History of his Chancellorship, of his anxiety to establish a 'learned press' in Oxford.]

ᵏ [See Hist. of Chancellorship, p. 118.]

[l] [See above, at Jan. 1, 1633. An account of the Archbishop's benefaction to Reading is given in 'Original Letters, &c relating to the Benefactions of Abp. Laud to the county of Berks. Lond. 1841.' The Archbishop's letters on this subject will be found in vol. vi.]

XVII. To erect an Arabic lecture in Oxford, at least for my lifetime, my estate not being able for more: that this may lead the way, &c. The lecture began to be read Aug. 10, 1636 [m]. Done. I have now settled it for ever[1] [n].

XVIII. The impropriation of the vicarage of Cuddesden to the Bp. of Oxford, finally sentenced Wednesday, April 19, 1637. And so the house built by the now Bp. of Oxford, Dr. Jo. Bancroft, settled for ever to that bishopric [o]. Done [2].

XIX. A book in vellum, fair written, containing the records, which are in the Tower, and concern the Clergy. This book I got done at my own charge, and have left it in my study at Lambeth for posterity, Junii 10, 1637. Ab anno 20 Ed. I. ad annum 24 Ed. IV.[p] Done [3].

XX. A new charter for the college near Dublin to be procured of his Majesty; and a body of new statutes made, to rectify that government [q]. Done [4].

XXI. A charter for the town of Reading[r], and a mortmain of . . . Done [5].

XXII. If I live to see the repair of S. Paul's near an end, to move his Majesty for the like grant from the High Commission, for the buying in of impropriations, as I have now for S. Paul's. And then I hope to buy in two a-year at least.

XXIII. I have procured for S. John Bap.'s College in Oxford the perpetual inheritance and patronage of, &c.

[1] ['Done . . . ever.' in marg.] [2] ['Done.' in marg.]
[3] ['Done.' in marg.] [4] ['Done.' in marg.]
[5] ['Done.' in marg.]

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[m] [See Hist. of Chancellorship, p. 147.]
[n] [Ibid. p. 280.]
[o] [The documents relating to this impropriation are recorded in the Archbishop's Register, foll. 261. b.—270. b.]
[p] [See above, p. 223.]
[q] [The statutes were forwarded to the Lord Deputy Wentworth, with a letter from the Archbishop, March 21, 1639.]
[r] [This charter will be found in Man's History of Reading, Append. p. i.]

MARGINAL NOTES

ON

PRYNNE'S BREVIATE.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

NOTICE.

THE following notes on Prynne's Breviate, now published for the first time, require a few words of introduction.

It has been already noticed by Henry Wharton, in his Preface to the Diary, and in his concluding note, that Prynne, by order of the two Houses, seized the Diary, Private Devotions, and other papers belonging to the Archbishop, and that he compiled from them his "Breviate of the Life of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, extracted for the most part verbatim out of his own Diary, and other writings under his own hand." This volume was printed, by order of the House of Commons, Aug. 16, 1644, as is stated in the title: and on Monday, Sept. 2, when the Archbishop was required to recapitulate his defence, he "saw every Lord present with a new thin book in folio, in a blue coat." (Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xlii. pp. 411, 412, in marg.) This was a copy of the Breviate, and that time was selected for its publication, that it might 'damp' the Archbishop, 'and disenable him to speak.'

The Archbishop was deeply grieved at this publication, and though fully occupied by the details of his Trial, contemplated a reply, which he intended to prepare on the completion of his History. "For this Breviate of his, if God lend me life and strength to end this first, I shall discover to the world the base and malicious slanders with which it is fraught." (Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xxv. p. 254 in marg.)

It appears from the following memoranda, from the Tanner MSS., that the Archbishop was known to have made notes on a copy of the Breviate in preparation for a reply, and that inquiry was made for the copy of the book in which they were entered.

"Memorand. to ask Mr. Dell's Lady for

My Lord's Annotations on Prynne's Book, which he calls the Archbishop's Diary. My Lord hath noted the book quite through with his own hand; his notes are written in the margin, which is large. The book is in folio, stitched up in a blue paper.

Another book in folio and stitched up like the other, called A Breve of the Archbishop's Enormities set forth by Prynne; noted also as the former with my Lord's own hand.

The account of some particulars in my Lord's charge, which my Lord would not answer to in particular, but in general cleared himself; and would not manifest his warrants and orders, lest anything might prejudice the King his master's honour. This is two sheets of paper, folded up but not stitched; endorsed with Mr. Dell's hand thus:—'An account of some particulars, &c.'

A copy of the Queen's three letters to my Lord, wherein she seemed to take it unkindly, that my Lord was so severe against Popish priests. They are tied together with a small red thread.

The original of my Lord's observations on his sufferings, with short hints on his dreams since a prisoner, which strangely prophised (*sic*) the success which since befel the kingdom. 'Tis a thin paper book, in 4to., half written through, without a cover.

All these, with divers others, Mr. Dell showed me at Mr. Gore's house, (in Maiden-lane I think 'tis,) and promised to deliver them all to me, which I am confident he had done, but that I was in France when he died, which fell out a month before our appointed meeting in London.

Endorsed:—A note of papers in the hand of Mrs. Hatton; given unto me by Mr. Birkenhead.

Also, in another hand:—A note of papers concerning Archbp. Laud, in the hands of Mrs. Hatton and Sir John Birkenhead." Tanner's MSS., (in the Bodleian Library,) vol. lxi. fol. 243.

Before the present Editor met with these memoranda, he had ascertained that some papers of Archbishop Laud were to be found in the "Warrington Museum and Library." And on inquiry it appeared that that institution was in possession of a copy of Prynne's Breviate, filled with marginal notes, evidently by the Archbishop; and though they are certainly not in his handwriting, yet they possess internal evidence that they were transcribed from his autograph. On the title-page of the volume is written, in a contemporary hand,—

"Memorand.—Mr. Prynn presented this worke of his to the Lds., Sep. 2nd, 1644, y^e^ same day that y^e^ poor Archbp. was to make his recapitulation, divers Lords holding it in their hands all the while, &c."

And beneath this, apparently in the same hand, is written,—

"This I suppose was written by Mr. Dell, secretary to Archbp."

The volume was presented to the Warrington Museum and Library by Mr. Crosfield, of Fir Grove, near Latchford. It appears to have been purchased by his father about twenty years ago, at a book-stall in Manchester; but the book contains no record of its earlier history, or the names of any of its previous owners.

The Editor desires to express his acknowledgments to Mr. Marsh, the Hon. Sec. of that institution, for the pains he has taken in transcribing this interesting document, and for the information he has obligingly furnished respecting it.

MARGINAL NOTES,

&c.

*** Sufficient portions of the Breviate are here introduced, to make the Notes intelligible. The references are to page and line.

Epistle Dedicatory.—P. 1, l. 17. *Trouble of making good the charge against the Archbishop, which I gladly would have declined.*] Many think you might if you would, and it would have been much better.

l. 18. *the importunity of diverse honourable friends.*] I cannot hastily believe this.

p. 2, l. 2. *A misconstruction, which some no doubt will make of my publications in this kind.*] A no misconstruction.

l. 13. *Exile in foreign parts, to which this Arch-Prelate had eternally designed me.*] I was no author of y^e^ business, and therefore could have no design.

l. 16. *in selecting me above all others, contrary to my inclination and desire, to be both the seizer and peruser of his papers.*] He y^t^ will, may believe this.

l. 19. *principall meanes of making good his charge.*] Under favour; 'tis not made good.

l. 22. *this imposed employment.*] But was it not first sought for?

l. 30. *There are, to my knowledge, some hundreds of pious Christians quite ruined . . . by . . . this oppressing Arch-Prelate.*] For this I leave him to God.

BREVIATE, &c.—Preliminary paragraph, last line. *Some passages . . . are here totally omitted.*] The reader will find many passages wch were objected at my Tryall.

p. 1. l. 2. *He was born . . . of poor and obscure parents.*] All this, if true, is no fault of mine.

Parents.] My father had born all offices in y^e^ town save y^e^ mayrolty.

In a cottage.] The howsing wch my father dwelt in is rented at this day at thirty-three pounds a-year.

l. 3. *Just over against the cage.*] The cage stood two streets of from my father's house all his life time, and divers years after, as many yet living know. By whom it was remov'd into y^e^ street, and why out again, I know not.

l. 9. *The cottage pulled down, and new built by the Bishop.*] No one stick of y^e^ cottage was pulled down by me.

l. 12. *but that God reserved him to be a future scourge . . . to this Church and State, &c.*] Who told him so? God grant himself be not what he says I am.

l. 15. *He came a poore scholler to Oxford.*] 'Tis true I was poor enough[a], yet a commoner I was till I was chosen scholler of y^e^ house.

l. 23. *He became Chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire, which after proved his great happiness.*] These words in my diary relate not to my being Chaplin to y^t^ Hon^ble^ pson, but to another hope cast of[b].

p. 2, l. 3. *His supposition (for B.D. degree) . . . concerning the efficacie of Baptism, was taken verbatim out of Bellarmine.*] Not possible; and I hope it is yet to be seen[c].

l. 4. *Doctor Holland openly reprehended him in the schools.*] My tenet was, and is still, y^t^ *Episcopatus* is *Jure divino:* But it was when I p^r^ceeded D^r^; and it is a notorious untruth y^t^ Dr. Holland said any such thing.

l. 10. *Which this day he puts into . . . his diary.*] The words in my diary are these: My cross about y^e^ E. of Devon.

l. 12. *Dr. Ayry questioned him for a Sermon, &c.*] And upon full hearing, absolv'd me in all particulars.

l. 27. *The suite about the Presidentship of Saint John's began, in which there was great towsing.*] Not by me, for I lay very sick at London.

l. 30. *Dr. Abbot . . . opposed him, as foreseeing he would prove a dangerous firebrand, &c.*] There was another reason, in wch I shall spare y^e^ dead.

[a] [In Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, (under the name of William Bailey, of Stoke Fleming,) it is stated that the Archbishop owed his college education to the liberality of Mrs. Burnegham.]

[b] [See above, p. 132.]

[c] [See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xl. p. 380 in marg.]

l. 44. *He set up a great organ in Saint John's Chapel.*] But it was at S^r^ Wi. Paddy's cost, having bin a student of y^t^ colledge.

p. 3, l. 15. *I became C.* (*Confessor*) . . . *to the Duke of Buckingham.*] Note it well: for if I became his Confessor, it was no ways fit to write down those passages in paper.

l. 21. *He desired* (*his answer to Fisher*) *might pass in the name of . . . R. B., lest he should be thought too much engaged thereby against his friends the Papists.*] Anything but malice might have found another reason; for this was not mine; if it had, I would not have been farther ingaged since.

l. 35. *I dreamt that L. K.* (*Williams*) *was dead.*] What warrant have you y^t^ he is meant?

p. 4, l. 5. *That I had given the Church such a wound in speaking to any Lord of the laity about it.*] Had this come from me, it would have had a 'Note this' in y^e^ margent [d].

l. 21. *It is credibly reported that the Duke made the Bishop at that time put off his gown and cassock, and then to dance before him like an hobgoblin.*] Here by y^r^ self; but I sollemnly avow there was never any such thing.

l. 34. *Oct.* 10, *I fell at night in passionem iliacam.*] This is mistaken either of me or by me, for I never had y^t^ passion.

p. 7, l. 11. *In January he compiled the book for the King's coronation.*] This is a most notorious untruth. The words in my diary are, 'Librum habui paratum,' wch is to have a booke ready, not to compile a booke.

l. 12. *Hee altered the coronation oath.*] And this is a most false and un-Xtian slander, and, I very beleive, ag^st^ his own conscience. The whole business I have answered in Parliament [e].

l. 42. *This speech of his* (King Charles's at the opening of the Parliament, 1626) *was penned for him by this pragmatical Bishop.*] I was an auditor then, but had nothing to do with y^e^ penning of y^t^ speech. And for ought I can

[d] [Referring to the marginal notes of this kind in the 'Breviate.']

[e] [Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xxxiii. pp. 319, seq. in marg.]

find either in my notes or memory, there was no such copy evidenc'd agst me.

p. 8, l. 27. *The Bishop . . . was such a sworn vassall to the Duke, that he penned his speech which he made . . . . against the Commons' impeachment.*] Not vassall, but such a poor true friend as y^{t} houble person's favours had made me. That wch follows I have answer'd in Parliament[f].

l. 47. *At this time Urban the Eighth sits Pope.*] Here my diary adds, y^{t} if Pope and Spaniard wou'd desier anything acceptable for their ends, they could not think of a better course then these distractions of this great councell of y^{e} kingdom. But note y^{t} this is left out.

p. 9, l. 26. *If A. B. C. &c. (that is, if the Archbishop of Canterbury died . . . that he should succeed him.*] This is y^{e} author's coment upon his A. B. C. Note it.

l. 31. *Stephen Boutin, Subdeacon.*] 'Tis Subdean in my diary.

l. 34. *Gracious King Charles.*] In my diary 'tis, a serenissimo Rege Carolo.

l. 37. *The . . . king . . . gave me thanks.*] I humbly pray you to do so.

l. 55. *I . . . held the cup to him.*] In y^{t} Breviate in wch y^{e} Archbp. has made [his notes], 'tis printed City, and in this place he has [noted], In my diary 'tis Calicem. Note y^{t}.[g] . . .

p. 10, l. 12. *I dreamed I had been reconciled to the Church of Rome. This dream distracted me.*] I hope y^{e} reader will note my trouble at y^{e} dream, as well as y^{e} dream.

l. 36. *He whispered me in the eare, &c.*] And I pray note y^{t} this allso was a wild fancy in a dream.

l. 45. *The exceptions which the Abp. of Cant. exhibited against the sermon of Dr. Sibthorpe were first brought to me.*] I have answered this allso in y^{e} High Court of Parliament[h].

[f] [See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xlii. pp. 400, 401 in marg.]

[g] [This note was evidently added by the transcriber of the original notes. Other copies of the Breviate have been found in which the word 'City' occurs, as *e. g.* in S. John's College Lib. Oxford, and in the King's Lib. Brit. Mus.]

[h] [See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xxxvii. pp. 356, 357 in marg.]

p. 11, l. 10. *I went to my Lord of Rochester to consider about the Abp. of Cant.*] I did this by comand.

l. 16. *Which commission (against Abbot) being of his own procurement.*] This is a most notorious scandal and slander cast upon me.

p. 13, l. 2. *That I was as like (to be sacrificed) as any.*] This was not forgotten at my tryall.

l. 39. *What a professed votary . . . this Bishop was to the Duke of Buckingham will appear by these his special prayers for him.*] What sin of mine was it to pray often for an honble pson to whom I was much bound, and in his times of danger?

p. 14, l. 1. *That he was privy to his journey into Spain.*] I was never made acquainted with y^t^ journey till after they were gone two days at least. And this also was remembred at my tryall [i]. And for y^e^ ensuing prayer wch I made when I heard of it, let y^e^ Christian reader judge of that.

l. 2. *Which voyage was purposely plotted to pervert him in his religion.*] This is more then I know or ever shall beleive; and bare articles are no proofe.

l. 28. *This prayer (for the D. of Buckingham) was much daubed through frequent use.*] If y^e^ prayers be good, y^e^ frequent use cannot be ill: Tho' he labours to make an ill construction of them.

p. 15, l. 15. *And when I would have put it (my Rochet) on again, I could not find it.*] Indeed, all this consider'd, 'tis time to note this [k].

l. 20. *Parliament . . . . laboured my ruin.*] It follows in y^e^ Diary, 'but God be thanked, nothing was found ag^st^ me.'

p. 17, l. 3. *find in L. T.*] Is it not possible he was mistaken in decyphering these letters, as well as he was very grosly in his Rome's Masterpiece, p. 29 [l]?

[i] [See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xl. pp. 381, 382 in marg.]

[k] [Prynne had written, "NOTE" in margin opposite this entry.]

[l] [The Archbishop refers to the following passage, quoted by Prynne from his Diary, 1632, Junii 25: "'Dr. S. with me at Fulham'..... meant of Dr. Smith, the Popish Bishop of Chalcedon." See Rome's Master Piece, p. 598. in marg. in this edition, and the entry in the Diary above, p. 215.]

l. 26. *Master Francis Windebanke . . . was sworn Secretary of State.*] This was objected allso at my tryall[m].

l. 31. *Dr. Juxon . . . at my suit sworn Clerk of his Majesty's closet.*] I know no sin in this.

l. 42. *The Feofees . . . . were dissolved, &c.*] This allso was urged and answer'd at my tryall [n].

p. 18, l. 15. *I dreamed that L. L. (the Bishop of Lincoln)... offered to sit above me at the Council Table.*] May not this authour dream here waking as much as I did sleeping.

l. 24. *I went presently to the King, and acquainted him both with the thing and person.*] I did herein as y^e^ law binds me, yet this was objected first in Rome's M^r^peice[o] and after in my tryall [p].

l. 30. *Somewhat dwelt within me, which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is.*] The reader allso I hope will note, y^t^ my conscience went ag^st^ this [q].

l. 35. *I praise God for it, I lost neither man nor horse.*] So I have noted this already [q].

p. 19, l. 7. *he (Prynne) tare it (a letter sent by him to Laud).*] This Mr. Atturny told me.

l. 21. *the Queene sent for me, and gave me thanks, &c.*] This allso was objected and answer'd at my tryall [r].

l. 37. *my account to the Queen put off, &c.*] This allso was objected and answer'd at my tryall [s].

l. 47. *My old friend Sir F. W(indebank) forsook me.*] Yet actions of his charged upon me at my tryall after this breach had made us strangers; tho' it appears here y^t^ this authour knew y^e^ breach and strangness between us.

p. 20, l. 27. *William Juxon . . . made Lord High Treasurer of England . . . God bless him in it.*] This also was objected ag^st^ me at my tryall [t]; but I hope it was no crime to pray for him in y^t^ slippery place, and y^t^ y^e^ Church might have no hurt by it.

[m] [See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xli. p. 394 in marg.]

[n] [Ibid. chap. xxxix. pp. 371, 372 in marg.]

[o] [Rome's Masterpiece, p. 596 in marg.]

[p] [History of Troubles and Trial, chap. xl. p. 383 in marg.]

[q] [These two remarks refer to the word 'note,' marked opposite these passages in the margin.]

[r] [History of Troubles and Trial, chap. xl. p. 382 in marg.]

[s] [Ibid. p. 383 in marg.]

[t] [Ibid. chap. xxix. p. 289 in marg.]

p. 21, l. 22. *That the devill had left that house to me.*] I humbly desire y^e^ reader to note these libells.

l. 29. *My free speech . . . concerning the increase of the Roman party.*] I desire this may be noted too.

l. 37. *No question, but there is a great concurrence between them and the Puritan party in England.*] I desire allso it may be noted.

p. 22, l. 6. *I settled with him a great business for the Queen.*] This allso was objected ag^st^ me at my tryall [u], and I answered it so far as it needed any.

l. 34. *If the Parliament should prove peevish.*] This allso was charged upon me at my tryall [y] and answer'd: But it was an ill phrase, and unadvisedly dropped from my pen.

l. 39. *I received the Queen's gracious assurance of her favour.*] This allso was objected ag^st^ me and answer'd [x].

l. 51. *Since I have got Canons.*] This passage of my diary was burnt while it was in M^r^. Pryn's hands [y]. In y^t^ wch remains is no mention of getting Cannons; but these words wch are pfect (namely: my deliverance was great, God make me thankful for it) are here omitted.

p. 23, l. 31. *In that studie hung my picture taken by the life.*] This I could not but observe in y^e^ troubles of y^e^ time; and it was not spar'd at my tryall [z].

p. 24. marg. *Where he then burned most of his privy letters and papers.*] M^r^. Maxwell was by comand of y^e^ honble House to be by me all y^e^ while. And he was not one minute from me, and knows I did not burn any one paper.

l. 18. *I see what justice I may expect, &c.*] The former part of this passage was burnt allso in M^r^. Pryn's hands, and y^e^ same left impfect tho here roundly set down. It was objected allso at my tryall, and answer'd [a].

l. 29. *He would by no means lie in the lodgings in which the Bishop of Lincoln formerly lay . . . though fittest for him,*] This man will be judge of my very lodgings; but by his leave they were no ways fitt for me.

[u] [History of Troubles and Trial, chap. xl. p. 383 in marg.]
[y] [Ibid. chap. xxiii. p. 230 in marg.]
[x] [Ibid. chap. xl. p. 383 in marg.]
[y] [See Diary, May 11, 1640.]
[z] [History of Troubles and Trial, chap. xlii. p. 408 in marg.]
[a] [Ibid.]

l. 32. *No more till I came to the end of Cheapside.*] This passage was burnt allso in part, and made up by y^e^ author.

p. 26, l. 34. *I dreamed . . . I found the roof of some part of the college . . . ready to fall down.*] In my diary it follows, (God be mercifull,) wch is here left out.

p. 28, l. 15. *You are there to search all the prisoners, &c.*] In y^e^ warrant wch I then cal'd to see, it was expressly y^t^ our pockets shou'd be search'd; wch is omitted in this warrant, but why I know not.

l. 36. *To overthrow the feofment.*] This urged ag^st^ me, and answer'd at my tryall [b]

l. 39. *To give all impropriations, &c.*] And this [c].

l. 40. *To set upon the repair of S. Paul's Church.*] And this for y^e^ manner [d].

l. 41. *To collect, &c., the statutes of the University of Oxford.*] And this [e].

l. 44. *To settle the statutes of all the cathedral churches.*] And this [f].

p. 29, l. 33. *Ludicra.*] These, as I remember, were things taken at some idle causes in y^e^ High Comission, as there were too many such passages [g].

l. 42. *Such pure devout Archprelatical recreations.*] These ludicra were no recreations of mine.

l. 46. *The first is for pardon of that foul scandalous act of his, in marrying the Lady Rich, &c.*] It seems this man is angry, y^t^ if in my younger times I comitted any sin I should be sorry and repent.

l. 49. *He fell into another grievous sin, perchance uncleannesse.*] I bless God for his grace in it, there never fastn'd upon me y^e^ least suspition of this sin in all my life, till this unclean pen of his hath brought it in with a perchaĉe. And I am much to seek what charity there is either in pticular to defame me under no more proofe then a perchaĉe, or in generall under pretence of dangerous papers, to take from me my book of Private

[b] [History of Troubles and Trial, chap. xxxix. p. 371 in marg.]
[c] [Ibid. chap. xxx. p. 297 in marg.]
[d] [Ibid. chap. xxv. p. 244 in marg.]
[e] [Ibid. chap. xxx. pp. 304, 305 in marg.]
[f] [Ibid. p. 306 in marg.]
[g] [The *Ludicra* referred to are no longer extant.]

Devotions; and thus, agst all course of Christianity, to publish them to [friends and foes] alike. God of his mercy look upon . . . .

p. 30, l. 17. *perhaps uncleanes* (altered in ink to *perchance uncleanes*).] This perchance is as charitable as y^{e} former.

l. 27. *Doctor Goodwin's son attests that he suborned Dr. Metcalfe to poison his father.*] It is well known in Oxford y^{t} D^{r}. Goodwin died a natural death. I never had any acquaintance with D^{r}. Metcalfe, not y^{e} least; and D^{r}. Goodwin's son, to y^{e} grief of all his father's frīēds, is a known runagate. Whether will this man's malice carry him agst me. Besides, this prayer was made an. 1617, and D^{r}. Goodwin died not till 1619, two years after[h]. So y^{e} reader may observe how malitiously this is thrust in, as if I made this my prayer upon y^{t} occasion.

p. 31, l. 14. *his tyrannie, his reviving the Scottish wars.*] This I praise God I never did.

l. 15. *Dissolving the Parliament.*] Nor this, as 'tis well known; nor y^{t} wch follows.

l. 21. *caused one of them to be hanged.*] Nor did I any thing in this; but left it to y^{e} law.

l. 31. marg. nǫte. *The premises and charge will informe you (why the people were enraged against him).*] It may be so, if all y^{t} M^{r}. Pryn says may be beleived.

l. 41. *Accused . . . . of high treason, as well he deserved.*] I hope other men think not so.

l. 42. *Arrogantly plead his innocency before God.*] No arrogance; far be it from me, especially before God.

p. 32, l. 7. *Arch-incendiarie against them (the Scots).*] God knows what services I have done y^{t} nation, and to time I leave it.

As for other things, [t]hō y^{e} Act of Parliament be for oblivion, [y]et M^{r}. Pryn will have nothing forgotten which he thinks may hurt me.

l. 37. *These prayers strictly enjoyned to be daily read in churches.*] No otherwise than as I was cōmanded.

l. 40. *He received several letters from the King.*] I could

[h] [William Goodwin died June 11, 1620. (Wood, F. O. i. 297.)]

not refuse to receive those letters from his Majᵗʸ, and so much I humbly acknowledg'd to yᵉ Right Honble yᵉ House of Peers, when they sent unto me for the same benefice of Charthã for another.

p. 33, l. 19. *This . . . letter from the Lady Aubigny.*] For this letter, it was about an absolution in Court; and I sent it to Mʳ. Lieutenant, yᵗ then was, before I medled with it.

l. 37. *How many . . . preferments he passed through . . . . at most of which he was never resident.*] This is under Mʳ. Pryn's hand, not under mine.

l. 39. *He procured most of his preferments . . . by unlawful actions.*] I bless God I never got any preferment by unlawful means; nor by any one of these nam'd.

l. 44. *superstitious observer . . . . of his own idle dreams.*] An observer, but not superstitious, as appears by my diary cited by Mʳ. Pryn, p. 22.

l. 48. *malicious enemy to the Bishop of Lincoln.*] Nothing near so much as yʳself, as appears in yʳ books.

l. 50. *The King . . . . he oft miscounselled.*] Never knowingly in my life.

p. 34. l. 4. *Instrument to the Queen and Popish faction . . . persecutor of the zealous Protestant party.*] I was no instrument for yᵉ one, nor persecutor of yᵉ other.

l. 7. *How odious he became both to Parliament and people.*] Never; nor odious till he and his complices help'd to make me so.

l. 9. *Arch-incendiary.*] Nor an incendiary, nor a busie bodie, nor an exemter of yᵉ Clergy, &c.

l. 20. *at the 12th charge.*] God be mercifull to Mʳ. Pryn, when these 12 shall be his [jury] at yᵉ last day.

l. 23. *His pulling down of the parish church of Saint Gregories.*] I gave no order for yᵉ pulling down of Sᵗ. Gregory's. And if yᵉ parishioners had followed my counsel at first, they had saved both their mony and their travel.

l. 32. *the Archbishop was grown so unthankful as to demolish S. Gregory's Church, who introduced the first dregs of Popery.*] So then, in Mʳ. Pryn's judgment, a man should not be unthankfull to yᵉ very dreggs of Popery.

l. 37. *was a good omen.*] So then M^r. Pryn's superstition can take some things as ominous.

l. 41. *He concluded his visitation at Barkin Church.*] I know not where Sir Nat. Brent, my Vicar Gen^ll, concluded my visitation; but this great prophet foresaw y^t, tho' I did not visit at Barkin in person, yet I shou'd in pson visit y^e Tower, and sit in his seat, w^h was a bold part for me to do.

l. 50. *His See's downfall by his meanes.*] No, if it have any downfall, 'tis by his and other sectarys' means.

p. 35. l. 5. *The vane which had the Archbishop's armes in it, had a humbling cast.*] What y^e truth .. is I know not, but . . . no great reason . . . M^r. Culmer's Cath . . .

l. 26. *and durst not come home, the evening was so foul.*] Here follows in my Diary these words, (which was God's great blessing both on him and me,) what dangerous words are these, y^t they are omitted?

l. 32. *Sept.* 19.] The Diary says it was y^e 18th day; and y^t I praised God for it, I lost neither horse nor man. God grant all ominous p^rsages to end so.

l. 34. *A . . . presage of . . . the Archbishop sinking through his pride and violence.*] I should be sorry my pride or violence were equal to M^r. Pryn's.

l. 39. *Struck proud Canterbury dead at heart.*] And yet alive as long as it shall please God.

l. 41. *His own fatall dreame at Oxford.*] For this dream. First. I wonder how it came to pass I should set down so many dreams in my Diary, and omitt this more memorable then any of y^e rest.

Secondly. Upon y^e faith of a Christian, I never had this dream.

Thirdly. My mouth did not attest it at my tryal. But when I heard a person of great honour affirm y^t I told it, I thought it better to hold my peace, then fall into contestation with a person I ever honour'd. Fourthly. The truth (as I shall one day answer it) is this and no other: When I was first Archbishop, one M^r. Badger, an atturny at law, my kinsman by marriage, but a separatist, came to me to Lambeth, and told me he heard y^t when I was young I had had this

dream, but could not or would not tell of whom he heard it. I verily think y^e^ credulous and bold man was purposely sent to abuse me to my face. I told him he was set on to abuse me, and protested to him y^t^ I never had any such dream. Yet not long after he told it to M^r^. Pryn . . . M^r^. Pryn had not told it to him first. M^r^. Pryn, without further enquiry, prints it in a . . . . . And as I hope for comfort in my Saviour, this is true . . . . . uncharitable conclusion, my life is in y^e^ hands of God . . . . . blessed be his name. But let not M^r^. Pryn call for blood . . . . . .

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

TROUBLES

AND

TRYAL

OF THE

Moſt Reverend Father in God

WILLIAM LAUD,

Lord Arch-Biſhop

Of *CANTERBURY.*

Wrote by Himſelf, during his Impriſonment in the *Tower.*

Pſal. XI. 3. Old Tranſlation.

The Foundations will be caſt down; and what hath the Righteous done?

Or, as it is Rendred in the laſt Tranſlation.

If the Foundations be deſtroyed; what can the Righteous do?

LONDON,

Printed for Ri. Chiſwell, at the *Roſe* and *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard, M DC XCIV.

[The following notices are extracted from the original MS. preserved in S. John's College, Oxford, which has been carefully collated for this Edition, and the pages marked by figures enclosed in brackets, and inserted in the text.

Written on the fly-leaf:—

"This is the originall History of Archbishop Laud, all wrot with his own hand, delivered to me October 31, anno 1693, by my Lord Abp. Sancroft; and, according to his command, published by me, anno 1694; put into the presse, March 10, anno 1693.

I will that after the publication of the Printed Copies, this originall Book be delivered by my Executors to the President and Fellows of St. John's Collegde (*sic*) in Oxford, if it be not hereafter sent by me to them before my death.

HEN. WHARTON."

In the same hand, but other ink:—

"It was published in the end of November, 1694."

Then two lines, and H. Wharton's signature erased.

"I delivered it to Mr. William Louth, Fellow of the said Colledge, (deputed by the President and Fellows of the said Colledge to receive it by a Publick Instrument under the Colledg seal,) together with the Original Diary of Archbishop Laud, on the 27th day of December, 1694.

HEN. WHARTON."

Opposite to the first page the following texts are written by the Archbishop:—

"The foundations will be cast down, and
what hath the righteous done?—*Ps.* xi. 3.

Or, as it is rendered in the last
translation,

If the foundations be destroyed, what
can the righteous do?

Non apposui ultimam Manum,

W. CANT."]

73 THE HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES OF WILLIAM LAUD,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANT.:

WHICH FELL UPON HIM, DECEMB. 18, 1640. WRITTEN BY HIMSELF DURING HIS IMPRISONMENT IN THE TOWER.

CAP. I.

THE History of my Troubles which fell upon me, Decemb. 18, 1640, being Friday[a]. Upon this day, Mr. Densell Hollis, second son to John Earl of Clare[b], by order from the House of Commons, came up to the Lords, and accused me of high treason[c]; and told the Lords, they would make[1] proof thereof in convenient time; but desired in the meantime that I might be committed to safe custody.

This was strange news to my innocency; for this I can say of myself, without falsehood or vanity, that to the uttermost of my understanding, I served the King, my gracious master, with all duty and faithfulness, and without any

[1] [Originally written, 'and desig. (*sic*) Acquainted their Lordships that they would alleadge the cause, and make']

[a] [Archbishop Sancroft, in his notes on this history, (MSS. Lamb. Numb. 577,) suggests a different commencement. It will be sufficient to mention here, once for all, that the original MS. has been carefully followed, excepting where otherwise indicated, and that Archbishop Sancroft's notes have been consulted all through, and their suggestions adopted where it seemed advisable.]

[b] [Holles was one of the five members accused by the King of high treason (see above, p. 243). He sided for a while with the popular party, but remaining abroad during the greater part of the rebellion, promoted Charles II.'s restoration, and was made a peer in 1660.]

[c] See Rushworth's Collections, par. 3, vol. i. pp. 122, 123; Prynne's [Canterbury's Doom, or] Compl. Hist. [of the Abp.'s Trial,] p. 19, &c.—H. W.

known or wilful disservice to the State therewhile. And this I did, with as true and free a heart as ever any man did, that served a king. And I thank God, my care was such for the public, that it is well known I much neglected my own private fortunes therewhile. The more was I amazed at the first apprehension of this heavy and undeserved charge.

Upon this charge I was commanded to withdraw. But I first desired leave to speak a few words: and I spake[1] to this effect: That I was heartily sorry for the offence taken against me; and that I was most unhappy to have my eyes open to see that day, and mine ears to hear[2] such a charge; but humbly desired their Lordships to look upon the whole course of my life, which was such, as that I did verily 74
persuade myself no one man in the House of Commons did believe in his heart, that I was a traitor. Here my lord the Earl of Essex[d] interrupted me, and said, 'That speech of mine was a scandal put upon the whole House of Commons, that they should bring me up charged[e] with so high a crime, which themselves did not believe.' I humbly desired then, that I might be proceeded with in the ancient parliamentary way of England. This the Lord Say[f] excepted against; 'as if I would prescribe them how they should proceed.' So I withdrew, as I was commanded, and was presently called in again[3] to the bar, and thence delivered to Mr. James Maxwell, the Officer of the Black Rod, to be kept in safe custody, till the House of Commons should further impeach me[g].

Here I humbly desired leave, that I might go home to fetch some papers, necessary for my defence. This was

[1] ['I spake' inserted afterwards.] [2] ['hear' inserted afterwards.]
[3] ['again' inserted afterwards.]

[d] [Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex, the celebrated Parliamentarian general.]

[e] Viz. should charge me.—H. W.

[f] [William Fiennes, Viscount Say and Sele, one of the most active partisans of the Parliament. The Archbishop's replies to his speeches against the Bishops and Liturgy will be found in vol. vi.]

[g] See the Order of the Lords for his commitment, apud Prynne, p. 22. ["December 18, 1640. It is this day ordered, that the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury (being accused of high treason by the House of Commons, in their own names, and in the name of the whole kingdom of England) be committed to the safe custody of the Gentleman Usher attending this high Court, and that he be sequestered from the said House until his Grace shall clear himself of the accusation that shall be laid against him by the said House.

"The Lords further ordered that no member of the House should visit the Archbishop without leave of the House."]

granted me, with some difficulty; and Mr. Maxwell was commanded to attend me all the while I should stay. When I was gone to Lambeth, after some little discourse (and sad enough) with my steward, and some private friends, I went into my chapel to evening prayer. The Psalms for that day[h] gave me much comfort, and were observed by some friends then present, as well as by myself. And upon the comfort I then received, I have every day since (unless some urgent business prevented me) read over both these Psalms, and, God willing, purpose so to do every day of my life. Prayers being ended, I went with Mr. Maxwell, as I was commanded; hundreds of my poor neighbours standing at my gates to see me go, and praying heartily for my safe return to my house: for which I blessed God and them[i].

[i] ['Here . . . them.' The whole of this paragraph inserted in marg.]

[h] Psal. 93 and 94. In vulgata Editione, Ps. 92 & 93.

AND because here I am sure to find myself, being now imprisoned, I will begin further off, and shew briefly why, and[1] how, this malignity pursued and overtook me.

When I was first Bishop of London, his Majesty expressed a great desire which he had to settle a Liturgy in the Church of Scotland, and this continued in agitation many years. And what my part was therein, I shall clearly and ingenuously set down hereafter[a], when I come to answer the Scottish accusations of me in that behalf, or the articles of the Parliament here, one of which relates to them[2]. In the year 1633, his Majesty went into Scotland, and was crowned there. I attended his Majesty in that Service. The Parliament then sitting in Scotland was very quick about some Church affairs, and the King was (2) much unsatisfied with some men and their proceedings. At his Majesty's return, in the same year, I was, by his special grace and favour, made Archbishop of Canterbury, 19 Septembris. The debate about the Scottish Liturgy was pursued afresh; and at last resolved by the King, that some Scottish Bishops should draw up a Liturgy, as near that of England as might be; and that then his Majesty would have that confirmed and settled for the use of that kingdom.

This Liturgy was carefully considered of, and at last printed and published, *an.* 1637. It seems, the Bishops trusted with this business went not the right way, by a General Assembly, and other legal courses of that kingdom. But what way soever was taken, or in whomsoever there was a failure[3], this was certain in the event: the Bishops were deceived in their expectation of a peaceable admission of that Service-book; the King lost the honour and safety of that settlement; and that kingdom such a form of God's service, as I fear they will never come near again; and that people,

[1] ['why, and' in marg. but erased.] [2] ['or . . . them.' in marg.]
[3] ['or . . . failure,' in marg.]

[a] P. 71. [of orig. MS. See below, p. 168 in marg.]

by cunning and factious[1] practices, both at home and from hence, heated into such a frenzy, as will not easily be cured. And 'tis well, if we their neighbours run not mad for company.

These violent distempers continued from the publishing of this Service-book, in the year 1637, till the year 1638. Then they grew up into a formal mutiny; and the Scottish subjects began to petition with arms, in their mouths first, and soon after in their hands. His Majesty was often told, that these northern commotions had their root in England. His Majesty's goodness was confident upon the fidelity of his subjects of both nations, and would not believe that of either, which was most true of a powerful faction in both: till at last, after much intercourse and mediation lost and cast away, the King was so betrayed by some of his own agents, that the Scots appeared upon their borders in a formal army. His Majesty went with an army to Barwick. There, after some stay, a pacification was made; and his Majesty returned, Aug. 3, 1639, to White-Hall[2].

76 Now during all this time, from the publishing of this Service-book to this pacification, I was voiced by the faction in both nations to be an incendiary, a man that laboured to set the two nations into a bloody war; whereas, God knows, I laboured for peace so long, till I received a great check for my labour. And particularly at the beginning of these tumults, when the speech of a war first began in the year 1638, openly at the Council-Table at Theobalds, my counsels alone prevailed for peace and forbearance, in hope the Scots would think better of their obedience[b]. But their counsels were fomented to another end, as after appeared.

The Pacification being made, was in terms as followeth:—

(3.)

The Articles of the Pacification[c].

1. "The forces of Scotland to be disbanded, and dissolved

[1] ['and factious' interlined.] [2] ['Aug. . . . White-Hall.' in marg.]

[b] See this confirmed by the King's own testimony, in his large Declaration, p. 420, W. S. A. C. [The title of the book is, "A Large Declaration concerning the late Tumults in Scotland, from their first Originals," &c. Lond. 1639.]

[c] [The Articles of the Pacification and the Act of Pacification are written in the hand of an amanuensis.]

within eight-and-forty hours[d] after the publication of his Majesty's declaration being agreed upon.

2. "His Majesty's castles, forts, ammunitions of all sorts, and royal honours to be delivered after the publication, so soon as his Majesty can[e] send to receive them.

3. "His Majesty's ships to depart presently after the delivery of the castles, with the first fair wind; and in the meantime no interruption of trade or fishing.

4. "His Majesty is graciously pleased to cause to be restored all persons, goods, and ships, detained and arrested since the first of November last past.

5. "There shall be no meetings, treatings, consultations, or convocations of his Majesty's lieges, but such as are warrantable by Act of Parliament.

6. "All fortifications to desist, and no further working therein, and they to be remitted to his Majesty's pleasure.

7. "To restore to every one of his Majesty's subjects their liberty, lands, houses, goods, and means whatsoever, taken and detained from them by whatsoever means, since the aforesaid time."

The copy of the Act of the Pacification as it passed[f] under his Majesty's hand, and includes these Articles above written, is as follows:—

(5.)

"Ch. R.

"We having considered the papers, and humble petitions presented unto us by those of our subjects of Scotland, who were admitted to attend our pleasure in the camp; and after a full hearing by ourself of all that they could say or allege thereupon, having communicated the same to our Council of both kingdoms; upon mature deliberation, with their unanimous advice, we have thought fit to give them this just and gracious answer:

"That though we cannot condescend to ratify and approve 77
the acts of the pretended General Assembly at Glasgow, for many grave and weighty considerations, which have happened, both before and since, much importing the honour and secu-

[d] *Alias* twenty-four hours.
[e] *Al.* shall.
[f] The Articles of Pacification were concluded 1639, June 17. Signed by the King, June 18.

rity of that true monarchical government lineally descended upon us from so many of our ancestors; yet such is our gracious pleasure, that notwithstanding the many disorders committed of late, we are pleased, not only to confirm and make good whatsoever our Commissioner hath granted and promised in our name; but also, we are further graciously pleased to declare and assure, that according to the petitioners' humble desires, all matters ecclesiastical shall be determined by the Assemblies of the Kirk, and matters civil by the Parliament, and other inferior judicatories established by law; which accordingly shall be kept once a year, or as shall be agreed upon at the General Assembly [g].

"And for settling the general distractions of that our ancient kingdom, our will and pleasure is, that a free General Assembly be kept at Edinburgh, the sixth day of August next ensuing, where we intend, God willing, to be personally present; and for the legal indiction whereof, we have given order and command to our Council; and thereafter, a Parliament to be holden at Edinburgh, the 20th day of August next ensuing, for ratifying of what shall be concluded in the said Assembly, and settling such other things as may conduce to the peace and good of our native kingdom, and therein an act of oblivion to be passed.

"And whereas we are further desired, that our ships and forces by land be recalled, and all persons, goods, and ships restored, and they made safe from invasion: we are graciously pleased to declare, that upon their disarming and disbanding of their forces, dissolving and discharging all their pretended tables and conventicles, and restoring unto us all our castles, forts, and ammunitions of all sorts; as likewise, our royal honours, 'and to every one of our good (6) subjects, their liberty, lands, houses, goods, and means whatsoever, taken and detained from them, since the late pretended General Assembly [h];' we will presently thereafter recal our fleet, and retire our land forces, and cause restitution to be made to all persons of their ships and goods detained and arrested, since the aforesaid time: whereby it may appear that our intention in taking up of arms was no ways for invading of our native kingdom, or to

[g] *Al.* by the General Assembly, and our Commissioner for the time being.

[h] Articulo 7. [See above, p. 280.]

innovate the religion and laws, but merely for the maintaining and vindicating of our royal authority.

"And since that hereby it doth clearly appear, that we neither have, nor do intend any alteration in religion or laws, but that both shall be maintained by us in their full integrity: we expect the performance of that humble and dutiful obedience which becometh loyal and dutiful subjects, and as in their several petitions they have often professed.

"And as we have just reason to believe, that to our peaceable and well-affected subjects this will be satisfactory; so we take God and the world to witness, that whatsoever calamities shall ensue by our necessitated suppressing of the insolencies of such as shall continue in their disobedient courses, is not 78
occasioned by us, but by their own procurement."

This Pacification was not much sooner made by the King, than it was broken by the Scots. For whereas it was agreed by the seventh Article, and is repeated in the body of the Pacification, 'That every one of his Majesty's good subjects should enjoy their liberty, lands, houses, goods, and means whatsoever, taken, and detained from them since the aforesaid time,' the Lord Lindsay[i], in the name of the rest, made a Protestation either in the camp at Dunns, or at the Cross in Edinburgh, that no bishop or clergyman was included in this Pacification, which yet in manifest and plain terms extended itself to 'all the King's good subjects.' And this protestation was so pursued, as that it obtained, and no clergyman was relieved in any the particulars.

Upon this and other particulars agitated in Parliament amongst them, his Majesty thought fit to look to himself, and examine their proceedings further. To this end he often called his Council, and in particular made a Committee of eight, more particularly to attend that service. They were the Ld. Bp. of London, then L. Treasurer[k], the Ld. Marquis Hamilton[1][l], the Earl of Northumberland L. Admiral[m], the

[1] ['the Earl of Arundel Ld. Marshal,' here inserted, but afterwards erased.]

[i] P. 73. [of orig. MS. See below, p. 170 in marg.]

[k] [William Juxon. See Diary, March 6, 1635.]

[l] [James Hamilton, afterwards Duke of Hamilton. The opposite views taken of his character may be seen in Clarendon, and in Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.]

[m] [Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland.]

Earl of Strafford L. Deputy of Ireland[1] [n], the Ld. Cottington [o], Sir Henry Vane [p], and Sir Francis Windebanck [q], Secretaries, and myself; to which was afterwards added the Earl of Arundel Lord Marshal [r]. And though I spake nothing of these Scottish businesses, but either openly at Council-table, or in presence of all, or so many of this Committee as occasionally met, and so had auditors and witnesses enough of what I did or said, yet it was still cast out among the parties, that I was a chief incendiary in the business: where yet, had I said or done any thing worse than other, there wanted not Sir Henry Vane [2] to discover it [s].

At this Committee many things were proposed diversly for the aid and assistance of the King, and many proposals rejected as illegal. At last the Ld. Lieutenant of Ireland proposed the calling of a Parliament. Much was not said against this, but much said for it [t]: nor indeed was it safe for any man to declare against it, after it was once publicly moved. So a Parliament was resolved on, and called against April 13, 1640. At that time it sat down, and many tumultuary complaints were made by the Scots against the Bishops and Church Government in England, and with great vehemency against myself. All this while the King could get no money to aid him against the Scottish rebellion. At last, after many attempts, Sir Henry Vane [3] told the King plainly, that it was in vain to expect longer, or to make any other overture to them [4]. For no money would be had against the Scots.

Hereupon his Majesty called all his Lords of Council together, and upon Maii 5, being Tuesday [5], at six in the

[1] ['the Earl of Strafford . . . Ireland,' in margin.]
[2] [Another name erased and 'Vane' inserted.]
[3] [Originally written, 'At last, when, after many designs, no money would upon any terms be had, Sir H. Vane, alias R.']
[4] [Originally written, 'attempts upon them.' The next sentence omitted.]
[5] ['being Tuesday,' in margin.]

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[n] [Thomas Wentworth, Laud's well-known confidant and correspondent.]
[o] [Chancellor of the Exchequer, afterwards Lord Treasurer. He went, in 1649, ambassador to Spain, whence he did not return.]
[p] [Treasurer of the Household, as well as Principal Secretary of State, in which latter office he succeeded Sir John Coke.]
[q] [Of whom frequent mention is made in the Diary.]
[r] [See above, p. 191.]
[s] [See below, pp. 295, 296.]
[t] [See Diary, Dec. 5, 1639.]

morning, they met in the Council-chamber. I, by the mistake of the messenger, was warned to be there at seven in the morning (as, if need be, I can prove by sufficient witness), and at that hour I came. By this accident I came 79
late, and found a resolution taken, to vote the dissolution of that Parliament, and the votes entered upon; my Lord Cottington being in his speech, when I came into the Council-chamber [1]. All votes concurred to the ending of that Parliament, save two. The persons dissenting were the Earls of Northumberland and Holland [u]. I co-operated nothing to this breach but my single vote: yet the very next day, libels were set up in divers parts of the city, animating and calling together apprentices and others, to come and meet in S. George's Fields, for the hunting of 'William the Fox,' for the 'breach of the Parliament.' This setting up of libels and animation of the baser people continued. I acquainted his Majesty and the Council with it. But upon Monday night following, being May 11, five hundred of them came about my house at Lambeth, to offer it and me violence. By God's merciful providence, I had some jealousy of their intent, and before their coming left the best order I could to secure my house; and by the advice of some friends, went over the water, and lay at my chamber in White-Hall that night, and some other following. So, I praise God, no great hurt was done. One young fellow only had a little hurt with a dag, who was after taken and executed.

Thus you see, how the malignity of the time fastened and continued upon me. For this libelling, in a very base and most unworthy manner, continued [2] (8) against me. But not one of them charged me with any one particular, save the breaking of the Parliament, of which I was not guilty.

During that Parliament, the Clergy had agreed in Convocation to give his Majesty six subsidies, payable in six years; which came to twenty thousand pounds a year, for six years:

[1] ['to the Council-chamber.' in margin.]

[2] [A long passage is here erased, which occurs in substance below, pp. 291—295, beginning, 'The King was very hardly put to it,' to 'hang together.']

[u] [Henry Rich, beheaded in 1649.]

but the Act of it was not made up [1] [v]. His Majesty, seeing what lay upon him, and what fears there were of the Scots.[2], was not willing to lose these subsidies, and therefore thought upon the continuing of the Convocation, though the Parliament were ended; but had not opened those thoughts of his to me[3]. Now, I had sent to dissolve the Convocation at their next sitting; haste and trouble of these businesses making me forget, that I was to have the King's writ for the dismissing, as well as the convening of it. Word was brought me of this from the Convocation-house, while I was sitting in council, and his Majesty present. Hereupon, when the Council rose, I moved his Majesty for a writ. His Majesty gave me an unlooked-for reply, namely, that he was willing to have the subsidies which we had granted him, and that we should go on with the finishing of those Canons, which he had given us (9) power under the broad seal of England to make. And when I replied, it would be excepted against in all likelihood by divers, and desired his Majesty to advise well upon it: the King answered me presently, that he had spoken with the Ld. Keeper, the Ld. Finch [w], about it, and that he assured him it was legal. I confess I was a little troubled, both at the difficulties of the time and at the answer itself, that [4] after so many years' faithful service, in a business concerning the Church so nearly, his Majesty would speak with the Lord Keeper, both without me, and before he would
80 move it to me: and somewhat I said thereupon which pleased not, but the particulars I do not well remember.

Upon this I was commanded to sit, and go on with the Convocation. At first some little [x] exception was taken there [5], by two or three of the Lower House of Convocation [6], whether we might sit or no. I acquainted his Majesty with this

[1] ['but . . . up.' in margin.]
[2] ['Scots coming in,' the last words erased.]
[3] ['but . . . me.' in margin.]
[4] ['time, . . . that' originally written 'business, and that.']
[5] ['there,' interlined.] [6] ['of Convocation,' interlined.]

[v] [The Act for levying the subsidy was passed May 20, and presented to the King May 25. See Nalson's Collection, vol. i. pp. 369, 370.]

[w] [John Finch, successively Speaker of the House of Commons, Justice, and Chief Justice, of the Common Pleas, and Lord Keeper. Created Baron Finch, April 7, 1640. He retired to the Netherlands during the rebellion, and, returning at the restoration, died at London, Nov. 20, 1660.]

[x] Lege, 'question was made.'—H.W.

doubt, and humbly besought him, that his learned council, and other persons of honour, well acquainted with the laws of the realm, might deliver their judgment upon it. This his Majesty graciously approved, and the question was put to them. They answered as followeth under their hands:—

"The Convocation being called by the King's writ, under the Great Seal, doth continue, until it be dissolved by writ, or commission under the Great Seal, notwithstanding the Parliament be dissolved.

"14 *Maii*, 1640.
"JO. FINCH, C. S."

"H. MANCHESTER [y].
JOHN BRAMSTON [z].
EDWARD LITTLETON [a].
RALPH WHITFIELD [b].
JOHN BANKES [c].
ROB. HEATH [d]."

This judgment of these great lawyers settled both Houses of Convocation. So we proceeded according to the power given us under the Broad Seal, as is required by the statute 25 H. VIII. cap. 19. In this Convocation thus continued we made up our Act perfect for the gift of six subsidies, according to ancient form in that behalf, and delivered it under seal to his Majesty.[e] This passed *nemine refragante*, as may appear *apud Acta*. And we followed a precedent in my Lord Archbishop Whitgift's time, *an.* 1586[f], who was known to be a pious and a prudent prelate, and a man not given to do boisterous things against the laws of the realm or the prerogative of the crown, but one that went just and fair ways to both. Nor did this grant lie dead and useless; for divers processes are yet to be seen for the fetching in of that which was so granted to the Queen's use, in case any man refused payment [1].

Together with this Act for Subsidies, we went on in delibe-

[1] [The latter part of this sentence in margin.]

[y] [Henry Montagu, Earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seal.]
[z] [Chief Justice of K. B.]
[a] [Chief Justice of C. P.]
[b] [Serg. at Law.]
[c] [Attorney General.]
[d] [Serg. at Law.]

[e] [See the Grant of the Benevolence, Nalson's Collection, vol. i. p. 533.]
[f] [See Strype's Life of Whitgift, book iii. chap. xvii. vol. i. pp. 497, 498, and Appendix of Documents, Numb. xxxiii. vol. iii. p. 196. Oxf 1822.]

ration for certain Canons, thought necessary to be added, for the better government and more settled peace of the Church, which began to be much disquieted by the proceedings of some factious men (which have since more openly and more violently [1] showed themselves). In the debates concerning these Canons, I dare be bold to say, never any Synod sat in Christendom that allowed more freedom either of speech or vote. The Canons which we made were in number seventeen; and at the time of the subscription no man refused, or so much as checked at any one canon, or any one branch in
81 any one of them: saving a canonist[g] or two, who excepted against two or three clauses [2] in some of the last of the Canons, (10) which concerned their profit and their carriage towards the clergy; in which they were publicly, and by joint consent, overruled in the House: and excepting Godfrey Goodman Ld. Bishop of Gloucester, who was startled at the first canon, about the proceedings against the Papists. This canon is very express for the use of all good and Christian means, to bring them out of their superstitious errors, and to settle them in the Church of England. This canon would not down with my L. of Gloucester. And the morning before the subscription was to be, he came over to Lambeth to me [3]; and after great expressions of his dislike, I gave him the best counsel I could, that he would keep himself out of that scandal, which his refusing to subscribe would bring, both upon his person, his calling, and the Church of England, in these broken times especially. But I fell so short of prevailing with him, that he told me plainly, 'He would be torn with wild horses before he would subscribe that canon:' and so we parted.

[1] ['and more violently' in margin.]
[2] ['two . . . clauses' first written, 'a clause or two.'] [3] ['to me' interlined.]

[g] Quære, who were these Canonists, and how had they votes in Convocation? Have we any such, properly so called?—W. S. A. C.

I suppose to be here meant some civilians, *graduates legum sive utriusque juris*, viz. of the Canon and Civil (or Imperial) laws, or others perhaps interested in the spiritual courts, being in Holy Orders, and sitting in that Convocation, either in their own right, as deans or archdeacons, or by delegation from the Clergy of some diocese; or perhaps proxies for some absent members of the Convocation.—H. W. [Sir John Lamb, Dean of the Arches, and Dr. Heath, Chancellor of Peterborough, both civilians, sat in this Convocation as Proctors; the former for the Clergy of Lincoln, the latter for the Clergy of Peterborough. (Nalson's Collection, vol. i. pp. 352, 355.) It appears (ibid. p. 371) that these very persons were called before the Upper House of Convocation on this question.]

The hour of Convocation drew on; and we met to subscribe the Canons. When it came to the Bishop of Gloucester's turn, his Lordship would neither allow the Canons nor reject them[1]; but pretended, (as he had once done about a week before,) that we had no power to make Canons out of Parliament time, since the statute of H. VIII. It was then told his Lp., that we had the king's power, according to that statute; and that his Lp. was formerly satisfied by the lawyers' hands, as well as we; and that this was but a pretence to disgrace our proceedings, the better to hide his unwillingness to subscribe that Canon against the Papists; as appeared by that speech which he had privately used to me that morning, and with which I publicly charged him upon this occasion; and he did as publicly in open Convocation acknowledge, that he spake the words unto me. Besides this, he was further told[2], that in all synods the suffragants were to declare themselves by open affirmation or denial of the Canons agreed upon; and that therefore he ought to express his consent or his dissent.

And though at that time I pressed it no further on him, yet it stands with all reason it should be so. For otherwise it may so fall out, that the Synod may be disappointed, and be able to determine nothing. And it seems, they were bound to declare in synod. For otherwise, when points of difficulty or danger came, the fathers might have with more safety forborne to vote; which yet they did not. For in the case of Nestorius in the Ephesine Council[h], the heats grew very high between Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch; and though most of the votes went with Cyril for the deposition of Nestorius, yet the rest held with John, who was thought to favour Nestorius. So, for matter of opinion, and point of faith, when Cyril had set out his twelve anathematisms, recorded in the Acts of the Ephesine Synod[i]; the Eastern bishops in a body, and Theodoret by himself[j], set out 82

[1] ['would . . . them;' in marg. It was first written, 'absolutely refused.']
[2] ['as appeared . . . told,' in marg. It was originally written, 'Papists. And further, that.']

[h] Concil. Ephes. par. i. and ii. [passim.—Conc. Labb. et Coss. tom. iii.]
[i] Concil. Ephes. par. iii. [cap. i. —Conc. tom. iii. coll. 813, seq.]
[j] [See Conc. Eph. par. iii. capp. ii. and iii.—Conc. tom. iii. coll. 828. 888.]

their confutations of them. And this I believe verily they had not done, the temper of those times considered, if they might have sat still as spectators only, without declaring their judgment.

But this appears more plainly by the Fourth Council of Toledo, where it was decreed, 'That no man should dare to dissolve the Council, till all things were determined and subscribed by the bishops[k]:' for this makes it evident, that every one who had a voice in council, was not only to declare his judgment, but subscribe his name. Nor can I see, why either the absence of a bishop being summoned thither, or his departure thence before all things were concluded, should be so penal, as by the ancient Canons it was, in case they were not bound to declare their judgments being once come thither; (it being all one upon the matter, to be absent thence, and to say nothing there:) for by the Council of Arles[l] it was no less than excommunication. And though that was after mitigated, in the Council of Orleans[m], to suspension for six months, in the year 552, yet in the Council of Sevil[n], in the year 590, upon sight of the inconveniences which fell upon it, it was made excommunication as it was formerly.

And a precedent of this, we have in our own Acts of Convocation, *an.* 1571[o]. And this was not only since the act of the submission of the clergy, but since the Reformation too. For there it appears that Richard Cheyney[p], Bishop of Gloucester, for not attending the Convocation, though he were then in Westminster, and going home without leave

[k] Concil. Tol. IV. cap. 4. Bin. to. ii. par. 2. p. 346. Concilium quoque nullus solvere audeat, nisi fuerint cuncta determinata; ita ut quæcunque deliberatione communi finiuntur, Episcoporum singulorum manibus subscribantur.[—Conc. Labb. et Coss. tom. v. col. 1705. D.E.]

[l] Concil. Arelat. II. can. 19. Bin. to. i. par. 1. p. 589. [Conc. Labb. et Coss. tom. iv. col. 1013. C.]

[m] Concil. Aurelianense V. [can. xviii.] Bin. to. ii. par. 2. p. 39. [Conc. Labb. et Coss. tom. v. col. 395. E. The date of this Council, according to Labbe and Cossart, is A.D. 549.]

[n] Concil. Hispalense. Ibid. p. 295. [This is quoted by Burchard in his 'Decretum,' lib. i. cap. 1. as the 10th Canon of this Council. It is given by Labbe and Cossart simply as a fragment. See Conc. tom. v. col. 1592. C.D.]

[o] [See Wilkins' Concilia, tom. iv. p. 261.]

[p] I have seen the records of some proceedings against this Bishop Cheyney, from which it appears that he was suspected of being a secret Papist, as was afterwards his successor, Bishop Goodman.—H. W. [See Strype's Annals, chap. lii. vol. i. par. ii. pp. 277, seq. Strype questions the fact that he became Romanist. (Annals, chap. xxv. vol. i. par. i. p. 421. Oxf. 1824).]

asked of the Archbishop, was excommunicated by the joint consent of all his brethren. Yet I may not deny, that in the question of King Hen. VIII.'s marriage with his brother's wife, when the business came to voting in the Lower House of Convocation, fourteen affirmed[q] that the law, *De non ducenda fratris relicta,* for a man's not marrying the widow of his brother, was indispensable; and seven denied; and one doubted. As also in the Act of the Submission of the Clergy, consisting of three articles, when it came to voting in that House[r], the first article was denied by eighteen, and referred[s] by eight; the two other were denied by nineteen, and referred by seven; the residue consenting unto all.

But neither of these, had they then been thought on, could have relieved the Bishop of Gloucester; because he neither doubted nor referred, but peremptorily said to me that morning, that he would be torn with wild horses before he would subscribe that canon against the Papists. And yet, when it came to the subscription, he would neither affirm nor deny the canon, but would have turned it off, as if we had not power to make those Canons. Therefore, when his Lordship would not[1] do either, I, with the consent of the Synod, suspended him. Divers of my lords the bishops were very tender of him, and the scandal given by him. And John Davenant, then Ld. Bp. of Salisbury, and Joseph Hall, then Ld. Bp. of Exeter, desired leave of the House, and had it, to speak with my L. of Gloucester, to see if they could prevail with him. 83
They did prevail; and he came back and subscribed the Canons, in open Convocation. But I told him: Considering his Lp.'s words, I did not know with what mind he subscribed; and would therefore according to my duty acquaint his Majesty with all the proceedings, and there leave it. The subscription to the Canons went on, no one man else checking at anything. And that work ended, the Convocation was dissolved Maii 29, being Friday.

[1] [From 'And though' in p. 288, all written in opposite page. It was first written, 'When, notwithstanding all this, he would not do either.']

[q] Quatuordecim affirmasse, septem negasse, unum dubitasse. Acta Synod. Lond. an. 1533. MS. [Wilkins' Conc. tom. iii. p. 756.]

[r] Acta Synod. Lond. an. 1532. MS. [Wilkins' Conc. tom. iii. p. 749.]

[s] [Abp. Sancroft objected to the use of this word. It appears to mean 'appealed against.']

The Convocation thus ended, I did acquaint his Majesty with my L. of Gloucester's carriage, and with that which was done upon it. His Majesty, having other jealousies of this Bishop besides this, resolved to put him to it. So his Lp. was brought before the king and the Lds. in council; and restrained (11) to his lodging, and a writ, *Ne exeat Regno*, sent him. But this writ proceeded not for anything said or done by his Lp. in the Convocation, but upon other information which his Majesty had received from some agents of his[1] beyond the seas[t], as shall appear hereafter, if this be objected against me. In the mean time, let that bishop rest for me.

The Canons, thus freely and unanimously subscribed, were printed. And at their first publication, they were generally approved in all parts of the kingdom; and I had letters from the remotest parts of it, full of approbation; insomuch that not myself only, but my brethren which lived near these parts, and which were not yet gone down, were very much joyed at it. But about a month after their printing, there began some whisperings against them by some ministers in London; and their exceptions were spread in writing against them; and this set others on work, both in the western and the northern parts[u]. Till at last, by the practice of the faction, there was suddenly a great alteration, and nothing so much cried down as the Canons. The comfort is, Christ himself had his Hosanna turned into a *Crucifige* in far less time. By this means the malice of the time took another occasion to whet itself against me.

The Synod thus ended, and the Canons having this success[2], but especially the Parliament ending so unhappily, the king was very hardly put to it, and sought all other means, as well as he could, to get supply against the Scots. But all that he could get, proved too little, or came too late for that service. For the adverse party in the late Parliament, or by-and-by after, before they parted, ordered things so, and filled men's

[1] ['some . . . his' in marg.]

[2] [Originally written, 'Before the first day which made the payment of our subsidies due to the king, his Majesty was hardly put to it.']

[t] [See note to Laud's Letter to Windebank of Sept. 23, 1638.]

[u] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. iii. pp. 1205, seq., and Nalson's Collection, vol. i. pp. 396, seq.]

minds with such strange jealousies, that[1] the King's good people were almost generally possessed that his Majesty had a purpose to alter the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom, and to bring in slavery upon his people: a thing (which for aught I know) his Majesty never intended. But the[2] Parliament-men, which would not relieve the king, by their meeting in that assembly, came to understand and inform one another; and at their return, were able to possess their several countries with the apprehensions themselves had; and so they did. Upon this, some lords and others, who had by this time made an underhand solemn confederacy with a strong faction of the Scots, brought an army of them into the kingdom[3]. For all men know, and it hath been in 84
a manner confessed, that the Scots durst not have come into England at that time[4], if they had not been sure of a party here, and a strong one; and that the King should be betrayed on all hands, as shall after appear[5].

By these and the like means, the King being not assisted by his Parliament, nor having means enough to proceed with his forces in due time, the Scots were brought in (as is aforesaid[6]) upon both King and kingdom. They, under the conduct of Sir Alexander Leshley[x], their general, passed the
Aug. 1640. Tyne at Newborne[y], and took Newcastle the next day after. And all this gross treason, though it had no other end than to confirm a Parliament in Scotland, and to make the King call another in England, that so they might in a way of power extort from him what they pleased in both kingdoms; yet religion was made almost[7] all the pretence both here and there; and so, in pursuance of that pretence[8], hatred spread and increased against me for the Service-book.

The King, hearing that the Scots were moving, posted (12) away to York, Aug. 20, being Thursday[9]. There he

[1] ['jealousies, that,' originally written, 'jealousies, insomuch that.']
[2] [Originally written, 'And though I know not how or by whom, yet most certain it is (as appeared evidently by the effects) a closing there was between the discontented parts of both kingdoms. And the']
[3] [Originally added, 'to bring on a Parliament, and therein to do what they pleased with the King in both kingdoms.']
[4] ['at that time' in marg.] [5] ['Upon this. . . appear.' in marg.]
[6] ['(as is aforesaid)' in marg.] [7] ['almost' interlined.
[8] ['both . . . pretence' in marg. Originally written, 'And so all along hatred,' &c.] [9] ['Aug. . . . Thursday.' in marg.]

[x] [Alexander Lesley, afterwards created Earl of Leven.] [y] Aug. 17.

soon found in what straits he was; and thereupon called his great council of all his Ls. and prelates to York, to be there by Septemb. 24[z]. But in regard the summons was short and sudden, he was graciously pleased to dispense with the absence of divers, both lords and bishops, and with mine among the rest. How things in particular succeeded there, I know not; nor belongs it much to the scope of this short history, intended only for myself. But[1] the result of all was a present nomination of some Lords Commissioners, to treat at Ripon about this great affair with other Commissioners from the Scotch army[a].

But before this treaty at Ripon, one Melborne, or Meldrum, secretary to General Leshly (as he was commonly said to be), at the Shire-house in Durham, when the country gentlemen met with the chief of the Scottish army, about a composition to be made for payment of three hundred and fifty pounds a day for that county, expressed himself in this manner, Septemb. 10, 1640:—'I wonder that you are so ignorant, that you cannot see what is good for yourselves. For they in the south are sensible of the good that will ensue, and that we came not unsent for, and that oftener than once or twice, by your own great ones.' There being a doubt made at these words, 'great ones,' he replied, 'your own lords,' with further discourse. These words were complained of, during the treaty at Ripon, to the English Lords Commissioners, by two gentlemen of the Bishopric of Durham, to whom the words were spoken by Meldrum. The gentlemen were, Mr. John Killinghall and Mr. Nicholas Chaytor[b]; and they offered to testify the words upon oath; but the lords required them only to write down those words, and set their hands to them, which they did very readily. The lords acquainted the Scotch Commissioners with the words. They sent to Newcastle, to make them known to General Leshly. He called his Secretary before

[1] [Originally written, 'After they had continued at York till October 28.']

[z] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. iii. p. 1257.]

[a] [See their names, ibid. p. 1282.]

[b] [Afterwards a lieutenant-colonel in the royal service. (See Burke's Extinct Baronetcies under the name.) Both Chaytor and Killinghall were members of the committee for settling the compositions for the county of Durham. (Rushworth's Collections, vol. iii. p. 1274.)]

him, questioned him about the words. Meldrum denied them. (Was that enough, against two such witnesses?) This denial was put in writing, and sent to Ripon. Hereupon, some of the English Lords Commissioners required that the 85
two gentlemen should go to Newcastle to the Scotch camp, and there give in their testimony before General Leshly. The two gentlemen replied (as they had great reason to do), that they had rather testify it in any court of England, and could do it with more safety; yet they would go and testify it there, so they might have a safe-conduct from the Scottish Commissioners, there being as yet no cessation of arms. Answer was made by some English lords, that they should have a safe-conduct. Hereupon one of the King's messengers attendant there, was sent to the Scotch Commissioners for a safe-conduct for the two gentlemen. He brought back word from the Earl of Dumfermling [c] (to whom he was directed), that the two gentlemen were unwise, if they went to give such testimony at the camp. And then speaking with the Ld. Lowdon [d], he came again to the messenger, and told him that such a safe-conduct could not be granted, and that he would satisfy the Earl that sent for it (who was Francis Earl of Bedford [e]). The messenger returning with this answer, the gentlemen were dismissed. So the business died; it being not for somebody's safety that this examination should have proceeded; for it is well enough known since that many had their hands in this treason, for gross treason it was by the express words of the statute of 25 Edw. III. c. 2. The truth of all this will be sworn to by both the gentlemen yet living, and by a very honest, grave divine, who was present at all these passages at Ripon, and gave them to me in writing.

In this great council, while the treaty was proceeding slowly enough, it was agreed on, that a Parliament should [1]

[1] [This long passage, from 'about this great affair (p. 293, l. 10.) . . . Parliament should,' inserted on opposite page.]

[c] [Charles Seton, one of the Scotch Commissioners.]

[d] [John Campbell, Lord, afterwards Earl of, Lowdon, and Chancellor of Scotland, one of the Scotch Commissioners, both now, and at the treaty of Newport.]

[e] [Francis Russell, fourth Earl. He died of the small-pox, May 9, 1641. See his character in Clarendon (Hist. Rebell. vol. i. p. 446), who, in contradiction to the statement made below by Laud, (p. 178 in marg.) that he was eager for Lord Strafford's death, expressly states the contrary—that he was anxious to save his life, but died too soon.]

begin at London, Nov. 3 following: and thither the Commissioners and the treaty were to follow; and they did so. After this[1] how things proceeded in Parliament, and how long the Scotch army was continued, and at how great a charge to the kingdom, appears elsewhere upon record; for I shall hasten to my own particular, and take in no more of the public than necessity shall enforce me, to make my sad story hang together.

After they had continued at York till Octob. 28, the King and the Lords returned; and[2] the Parliament sat down Novemb. 3. Great heats appeared in the very beginning. On Wednesday, Novemb. 10[f], Tho. L. Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, was accused by the House of Commons of high treason, and committed by the Lords to Mr. James Maxwell, the Officer of the House; and upon general articles sent up, he was, upon Wednesday, Novemb. 25[g], committed to the Tower. It is thought (and upon good grounds) that the Earl of Strafford had got knowledge of the treason of some men, and that he was preparing to accuse them. And this fear both hastened and heated the proceedings against him. And upon Dec. 4, being Friday, his Majesty, at the great importunity of some Lords of his Council, gave way that[3] his Council should be examined upon oath in the Earl of Strafford's case; and I (with others) was examined that very day. There were great thoughts of heart upon this business, and somewhat vapoured out at men's tongues; but the thing was done.

86 Now[4] at, and after the breaking up of, the late Parliament, Sir Hen. Vane[5], at the private Committee concerning the Scotch affairs (before mentioned), instead of setting down the heads of the several businesses then treated of, writ down what every man said at the Committee, though it were but matter of deliberation and debate. Afterwards, by a cunning conveyance between his son (who had been Governor in New

[1] ['were to follow . . . this' in marg. Originally written, 'followed.']
[2] ['After . . . and' in marg.] [3] ['to the Tower . . . that' on opposite page.]
[4] ['Now' in marg.] [5] [Two words erased after Vane's name.]

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[f] Nov. 11. Rushworth. [Correctly.]
[g] The Archbishop's Diary saith Nov. 22.—W. S. A. C. [Wednesday in this year fell on Nov. 25.]

England[1])[h] and himself, this paper, or a copy of it, was delivered to some members of the House of Commons; and in all probability was the ground of that which was after done against the Lord Strafford, myself, and others; and the cause why the King was so hard pressed to have the Lords and others of his Council examined, was, that so Sir Henry Vane[2] might upon oath avow the paper which his son had seen and showed[3], and others be brought to witness as much (had truth and their memories been able to say as much) as his paper.

After the examination of me and others, concerning these particulars, there arose great and violent debates in the House of Commons against the Bishops, and particularly their votes in Parliament[i]. After that, Decemb. 16, 1640, they voted against the late Canons[4], as containing in them many matters contrary to the fundamental laws and statutes of the realm, to the rights of Parliaments, to the property and liberty of the subject; and matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequences[k]. I was made the author of all, and presently (13) a Committee[l] put upon me

[1] ['who . . . New England' in marg.]
[2] [Same two words omitted as before.]
[3] ['and showed,' in marg.]
[4] [Originally written, 'Canons, as being altogether against the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the liberty and property of the subject; and containing other things tending to sedition and of dangerous consequence. (Upon this occasion they took in the Canons made in King James his time also, and condemned them for company.) I was,' &c.]

[h] [Having been elected by the disaffected people who had emigrated thither. Neither governor nor people were satisfied with each other, and Vane returned to England. His subsequent career is too well known to be here dwelt on.]

[i] The Bishops were before this inveighed against in several speeches. Nov. 7, 9, 21, 25, &c.—Rushw. [par. 3. vol. i. pp. 22, 33, seq. 55, 58.]

[k] *Vide* Rushw. par. 3, vol. i. pp. 99—112.

[l] The order for erecting this Committee may be found in Prynne's Compl. Hist. p. 19. ["December 16, 1640. This Committee is to prepare the several votes concerning the new Canons, and to make them ready for this House to present the same to the Lords, and to consider and examine who were the promoters of these new Canons, and who the principal actors, and what execution hath been made upon them, and by whom; and to consider how far the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury hath been an actor in all the proceedings of them; and further, to examine, how far he hath been an actor, or in the great design of the subversion of the laws of the realm, and of the religion; and to prepare and draw up a charge against him, and such others as shall appear offenders in these particulars; and have power to send for parties, witnesses, papers, books, records, and to do any other act which they in their judgments should think fit to conduce to the business, and are to meet at four o'clock this afternoon in the Star Chamber."

The Order of the House of Commons for the Archbishop's impeachment is thus entered in the Journal:—

"December 18, 1640. Resolved upon

to inquire into my actions and prepare a charge. The same morning in the Upper House, I was named as an incendiary in an accusation put in by the Scottish Commissioners: for now by this time they were come to that Article of the Treaty which reflected upon me. And this was done with great noise, to bring me yet further into hatred with the people, especially the Londoners[m], who approved too well the proceedings of their brethren the Scots, and debased the Bps. and the Church Government in England. The Articles, which the Scots put into the Upper House (by the hands of their Lords Commissioners against me, Decemb. 15) were read there Decemb. 16[1]. I took out a true copy as it follows here[2]. And though I was to make no answer then, till the House of Commons had digested them, and taken as much out of them as they pleased, to fill my intended charge withal; yet because I after found, that the House of Commons[3] insisted upon very few of these particulars (if any), I thought myself bound to vindicate my innocency even in these particulars, which shall now appear in their full strength against me, if they have any in wise and learned men's judgments[n]. Decemb. 16, 1640

[1] ['into . . . Decemb. 16.' originally written, 'in against me, were read in the Upper House.']

[2] [Originally added, 'with my answer to every particular.']

[3] ['the House of Commons' originally 'they.']

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the question, that a message shall be sent from this House to the Lords, to accuse William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, of high treason, in the name of this House and of all the Commons of England, and to desire that he may be sequestered from Parliament, and committed; and that within some convenient time, this House will resort to their Lordships with particular accusations and articles against him; and that Mr. Hollis go up with the same."

Prynne, after quoting these Orders of the House, gives the speech of Harbottle Grimstone, which it is not thought worth while here to insert.]

[m] See the Petition of the Londoners against the Bishops, presented Dec. 11, 1640, apud Rushw. p. 93.

[n] They are printed entire in Rushw. p. 113, Pryn, p. 31, &c. Abbreviated in Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 466. Published by the Scots themselves, London, 1641, 4to. [under the title of "The Charge of the Scottish Commissioners against Canterburie and the Lieutenant of Ireland. Together with their demand concerning the Sixt Article of the Treaty, &c. Printed, Anno Dom. MDCXLI."] and soon after by Pryn in his Antipathy of the English Prelacy, par. i. p. 334.

CAP. III. 87

The novations in religion (which are universally acknowledged to be the main cause of commotions in kingdoms and states, and are known to be the true cause of our present troubles) were many and great; besides the Books[a] *of Ordination and Homilies. First, some particular alterations in matters of religion pressed upon us without order, and against law, contrary to the form established in our Kirk. Secondly, a new Book of Canons* [*and Constitutions Ecclesiastical*[b]]. *Thirdly, a Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer; which did also carry with them many dangerous errors in matters of doctrine. Of all these*[c] *we challenge the Prelate of Canterbury as*[d] *the prime cause on earth*[e].

I SHALL easily grant, that 'novations in religion are a main cause of distempers in commonwealths.' And I hope it will be as easily granted to me (I am sure it should), that when great distempers fall into kingdoms and commonwealths, the only way to engage at home and get credit abroad is to pretend religion, which in all ages hath been a cloak large enough to cover (at least from the eyes of the many) even treasons themselves. And 'for the present troubles' in Scotland, novations in religion are so far from being 'known to be the true cause,' as that it is manifest to any man that will look upon it with a single eye, that temporal discontents, and several ambitions[1] of the great men, which had been long a-working[2], were the true cause of these troubles; and that religion was called in upon the bye, to gain the clergy, and by them the multitude.

[1] ['and several ambitions' in marg.] [2] [Originally written 'brewing.']

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[a] 'Book,' Rushw.
[b] Rushw. and Pryn.
[c] 'Which,' Rushw. and Pryn.
[d] 'To be,' Rushw.
[e] [Archbishop Sancroft remarks:—"The Articles of the Scottish Commissioners are sometimes related in their own formal words, sometimes in oblique narration, and some Articles mixed of the Archbishop's person as speaking in one part of the period, and the accuser the rest, very incongruously."]

For besides that which was openly spoken by the Right Honourable James then Earl of Carlisle[f], that somewhat was a-brewing in Scotland among some discontented there, which would break out to the trouble of this kingdom; 'tis most apparent, there were many discontents among them: some whereof had no relation at all to religion, and were far ancienter than the troubles now began, and were all legally proved against the Lord Balmerino[g], who was condemned of high treason before any of these stirs began. For there were 'grievances,' as they said, 'propounded in the Convention, *an.* 1628,' about coining, and their black money; which (they say) 'were slighted again in the Parliament held 1633.' Murmuring also there was, as if the 'Articles and Parliament were not free.' Great clamour likewise was there against the 'Bishops' power in choosing the Lords of the Articles;' though that power belonged unto them by the fundamental laws of that kingdom. As much against the Act of Revocation, and the taxations (which yet were voluntarily offered, and miscalled on purpose to edge the people): as also for 'applying,' as they said, 'these taxations to wrong uses:' with all which, and more, religion had nothing to do. Nay, this discontented party grew so high and so bold, that a very base and dishonourable libel was made and spread against the king, *an.* 1633, by these and the like pretences to alienate the hearts of the people from him. Of this libel, if one Hagg were the author, Balmerino was the divulger, and so proved[h]. And though it be true, that then also some things were said to be done against the Church-government; yet their nova-
88 tions now spoken of were not then on foot. So that it is evident enough to any man that will see, that these commotions had another and a higher cause than the present pretended innovations. And if his Majesty had played the king then, he needed not have suffered now. Besides, they are no fools who have spoken it freely (since the Act of Oblivion for the Scottish business was passed), that this great league before mentioned[1] between the discontented party of both

[1] ['before mentioned' in marg.]

[f] [James Hay, Earl of Carlisle.]

[g] Process against the Ld. Balmerino: a copy whereof I had by me when I writ this.—W. C. [A full account of the proceedings is given in State Trials, vol. i. pp. 407—458. Lond. 1730.]

[h] See K. Ch. Large Declaration, p. 13, &c.

kingdoms, was consulted on in the year 1632, and after the King's being in Scotland, *an.* 1633, it went on, till they took occasion another way to hatch the cockatrice' egg, which was laid so long before.

(14) But they say, these 'novations were great, besides the Books of Ordination and Homilies.' So the 'Books of Ordination and Homilies' were 'great novations.' Had they then in Scotland no set form of ordination? I promise you, that's next neighbour to no ordination; and no ordination to no Church, formal at least. And therefore if this be a novation among them, it's high time they had it. And for the Homilies, if they taught no other doctrine than was established and current in the Church of Scotland, they were no novations; and if they did contain other doctrine, they might have condemned them, and there had been an end. Howsoever, if these books be among them in Scotland, they were sent thither in King James his time, when the Prelate of Canterbury neither was, nor could be, 'the prime cause on earth of that novation.'

The other novations, which they proceed unto, are, first, 'some particular alterations in matters of religion, pressed upon them without order and against law.' To this I can say nothing, till the 'particular alterations' be named. Only this in the general: be they what they will, the Scottish Bishops were to blame, if they pressed anything 'without order' or 'against law.' And sure I am, the Prelate of Canterbury caused them not, nor would have consented to the causing of them, had he known them to be such. The two other novations, in which they instance, are the Book of Canons and the Liturgy, which, they say, 'contain in them many dangerous errors in matter of doctrine.' To these, how dangerous soever they seem, I shall give (I hope) a very sufficient and clear answer; and shall ingenuously set down whatsoever I did, either in or to the Book of Canons and the Liturgy, and then leave the ingenuous reader to judge, how far the 'Prelate of Canterbury is the prime cause on earth of these things.'

ART. I.

And first, that this Prelate was the author and urger of some particular things[i] *which made great disturbance amongst us, we* [*make*[k]] *manifest first by fourteen letters subscribed W. CANT. in the space of two years, to one of our pretended Bishops, Ballatine; wherein he often enjoins him and our other pretended Bishops to appear in the chapel in their whites, contrary to the custom of our Kirk, and to his* [*own*[l]] *promise made to the pretended Bishop of Edinburgh at the coronation, That none of them after that time should be more pressed to wear those garments; thereby moving him against his will, to put them on for that time.*

89 Here begins the first charge about the 'particular alterations.' And first, they charge me with 'fourteen letters' written by me to Bishop Ballantyne[m]. He was then Bishop of Dunblain, and Dean of his Majesty's Chapel Royal there. He was a learned and a grave man, and I did write divers letters to him, as well as to some other Bishops, and some by command; but whether just fourteen or no, I know not. But sure I am their love to me is such, that were anything worse than other, in any of these letters, I should be sure to hear of it.

First, (15) then, they say, 'I enjoined wearing of whites,' &c. Surely I understand myself a great deal better than to enjoin where I have no power. Perhaps I might express that which his Majesty commanded me, when I was Dean of his Majesty's Chapel here, as this reverend Bishop was in Scotland: and his Majesty's express command was, that I should take that care upon me; that the chapel there, and the service, should be kept answerable to this, as much as might be; and that the Dean should come to prayers in his form, as likewise other Bishops when they came thither[n]. And let my letters

[i] 'Changes,' Rushw. and Pryn.
[k] Rushw. and Pryn.
[l] Rushw. and Pryn.
[m] [As many of these letters as can be recovered will be found in vol. vi.]
[n] [The following documents taken from Prynne (Hidden Works, &c. pp. 148, 149,) may be here introduced:—

"CHARLES R.

"Our express will and pleasure is, that the Dean of our Chapel that now is, and his successors, shall be assist-

be showed, whether there be any 'enjoining' other than this, and this way. And I am confident his Majesty would never have laid this task upon me had he known it to be either 'without order' or 'against law.'

Next I am charged, that concerning these 'whites,' I brake my promise to the Bishop of Edinburgh. Truly to the uttermost of my memory I cannot recal any such passage or 'promise' made to that reverend and learned prelate. And I must have been very ill advised, had I made any such 'promise,' having no warrant from his Majesty to engage for any such thing. As for that which follows, 'that he was

ent to the Right Reverend Father in God, the Archbishop of Saint Andrewes, at the Coronation, so often as it shall happen.

"That the Book of the form of our Coronation lately used be put in a little box, and laid into a standard and committed to the care of the Dean of the Chapel successively.

"That there be prayers twice a day with the quire, as well in our absence as otherwise, according to the English Liturgy, till some course be taken for making one that may fit the customs and constitutions of that Church.

"That the Dean of the Chapel look carefully, that all that receive the blessed sacrament there, receive it kneeling, and that there be a Communion held in that our chapel the first Sunday of every month.

"That the Dean of our Chapel that now is, and so successively, come duly thither to prayers upon Sundays, and such holy days as that Church observes, in his whites, and preach so, whenever he preacheth there. And that he be not absent from thence, but upon necessary occasion of his diocese, or otherwise, according to the course of his preferment.

"That these orders shall be our warrant to the Dean of our Chapel, that the Lords of our Privy Council, the Lords of the Session, the Advocate, Clerks, Writers to the Signet, and members of our College of Justice, be commanded to receive the holy communion once every year, at the least, in that our Chapel Royal, and kneeling, for example sake to the kingdom. And we likewise command the Dean aforesaid to make report yearly to us, how we are obeyed therein, and by whom, as also if any man shall refuse, in what manner he doth so, and why.

"That the Copes which are consecrated to our use, be delivered to the Dean, to be kept upon inventory by him, and in a standard provided for that purpose, and to be used at the celebration of the Sacrament in our Chapel Royal.

"To these Orders we shall hereafter add others, if we find others more necessary for the regulating of the service of God there.

"At Whitehall, the eighth day of October, 1633.

Sic subscribitur STERLING.

Superscribed by his Majesty."

"CHARLES R.

"Reverend Father in God, trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, we greet you well. We have thought good, for better ordering of Divine Service, to be performed in our Chapel Royal there, to set down some Articles under our own hand to be observed therein, which we send you here enclosed. And it is our special pleasure, that you see everything carefully performed, according as we have directed by these our enclosed Articles. And likewise that you certify to the Lords of our Privy Council, if any of those appointed by our former letters to them to communicate in our Chapel Royal, shall not accordingly perform the same, to the effect such order may be taken by our Council therein, as by our said former letters to them we did appoint; wherein expecting your diligence and care, We bid you farewell.

"From our Court at Whitehall, the 8th day of Octo. 1633."

moved against his will to put on those garments,' truly he expressed nothing at that time to me [1], that might signify it was against his will. And his learning and judgment were too great to stumble at such external things: especially such having been the ancient habits of the most reverend bishops from the descent of many hundred years, as may appear in the Life of S. Cyprian [o]. And therefore the novation was in the (Church) of Scotland, when her Bishops left them off, not when they put them on.

In these Letters, he (the Prelate of Canterbury) *directs* (Bishop Ballantine) *to give order for saying the English Service in the chapel twice a day: for his neglect, showing him that he was disappointed of the bishopric of Edinburgh; promising him upon his greater care of these novations, advancement to a better bishopric.*

For 'the direction for reading the English Service,' it was no other than his Majesty commanded me to give. And I hope it is no crime for a Bishop of England, by his Majesty's command, to signify to a Bishop in Scotland what his pleasure is for Divine Service in his own chapel. Nor was the reading
90 of the English liturgy any 'novation' at all in that place. For in the year 1617 I had the honour, as a Chaplain in Ordinary, to wait upon King James of blessed memory into Scotland [p], and then the English service was read in that chapel, and twice a day. And I had the honour again to wait upon King Charles, as Dean of his Majesty's Chapel Royal here [2], at his coronation in Scotland, in the year 1633 [q]: and then also was the English service read twice a day in that

[1] ['to me,' in margin.]

[2] ['as Dean . . . here,' in margin.]

[o] When S. Cyprian was brought to the place of his execution, "exuit se lacernum [birrum] quem indutus erat, &c. dehinc tunicam tulit, et diaconibus tradidit; et stans in linea exspectabat spiculatorem." [Acta Passionis S. Cypriani a Pontio Diacono.] Now if you ask, what that "linea" was, sure it could not be his shirt. For that could not stand with his episcopal gravity; nor was it necessary for him, in regard of his kind of death, which was beheading. But Baronius tells us, Annal. Eccles. an. 261. n. 40, that it was "lineum illud vestimentum, Episcopis omnibus commune, Italice *rocheto* dicunt." [This is an abridgement of Baronius's words, tom. ii. col. 710. Mogunt. 1601.] And by this passage concerning S. Cyprian, it is evident that this habit there mentioned was the usual and known habit of a bishop in those times.

[p] [See Diary, pp. 135, 136.]

[q] [See Diary, p. 217.]

chapel. And a strict command was given them by his Majesty, that it should be so continued; and allowance was made for it. And none of the Scots found any fault with it at that time or after, till these tumults began. And for Bishop Ballantyn's 'missing the bishopric of Edinburgh, and my promising him another upon his better care of his Majesty's commands,' I gave him both the answers, and the reason, and the promise, which his Majesty gave me, and commanded me to write to him. It follows—

(16.) *That I taxed him* (that is, Bishop Ballantine) *for his boldness in preaching the sound doctrine of the Reformed Kirks against Mr. Michell; who had taught the error of Arminius in the point of the extent of the merit*[r] *of Christ.*

They should do well to show my letter, and then I will answer punctually to anything in it. In the meantime I do not know that ever Mr. Michell preached Arminianism. For that Christ died for all men is the universal and constant doctrine of the Catholic Church in all ages[s], and no 'error of Arminius:' and are the express words of Scripture itself, in

[r] 'Mercy' Rushw.

[s] "Christus crucifixus est propter genus humanum." [Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς παθεῖν ταῦτα αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους ἐνήργησεν.]—S. Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 246. [§ 95, p. 192. C. Paris. 1742.]

"Tota natura redempta."—Athan. de Incarn. Christi. Edit. Con. p. 66. [Ἡ κτίσις πᾶσα λελύτρωται.—S.] Athan. de Incarn. [§ 37. Op., tom. i. p. 79. C. Paris. 1698.]

"Pro omni humano grege." [Ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀγέλης.]—Euseb. L. 10. De Demonstr. Evang. in præfat. [p. 462. D. Colon. 1688.]

"Pro orbe universo." [Ῥανίδες αἵματος ὀλίγαι κόσμον ὅλον ἀναπλάττουσαι.]—Greg. Naz. Orat. xlii. [Op., tom. i. p. 696. D. Paris. 1630.]

["Venit Redemptor, et dedit pretium, fudit sanguinem suum, emit orbem terrarum."—S.] Aug. in Ps. 95. [Op., tom. iv. col. 1478. B.]

"Pro proditore suo" ["et ideo nec proditorem debuerat præterire, ut adverterent omnes, quod in electione etiam proditoris sui servandorum omnium insigne prætendit."]—S. Ambros. L. de Paradiso, cap. viii. [Op., tom. i. col. 161.] "Pro iis qui curari nolunt." ["Ideo omnibus opem sanitatis detulit, ut quicunque perierit mortis suæ causas sibi ascribat, qui curari noluit, cum remedium haberet, quo posset evadere."] S. Amb. L. 2. de Cain & Abel, c. iii. [Ibid. col. 211.]

"Pro Gentibus, sed illæ non voluerunt" [ὁ μὲν Χριστὸς καὶ ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων . . . πῶς οὖν, φησιν, οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν; ὅτι οὐκ ἐθέλησαν.]—S. Chrysost. Hom. 7. in 1 Tim. 2. [Op., tom. xi. p. 586. D.]

"Pro omnibus, si omnes redimi vellent"—S. Hieron. in 1 Tim. ii. 1. [Pelag. apud S. Hier. Op., tom. xi. col 1046. A.] Primasius, ibid. [apud Bibl. Max. Patr. tom. x. p. 237. H.]

"Nulla ratio dubitandi est . . . [sed prorsus pro omnibus mortuus est Christus]."—Prosper. [seu ignotus auctor,] lib. ii. de Vocat. Gent. c. 16. [apud S. Prosper. Op., col. 904. c. Paris. 1711.]

"Non pro fidelibus tantum, sed pro, &c." [Χάριτι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἔδωκε εἰς θάνατον, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν πιστῶν δὲ μόνον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης.]—Theoph. in Heb. ii. 9. [p. 890. Lond. 1636.] Œcumenius, ibid. [Εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ

more places than one[t]. And the Synod of Dort[u], called purposely about the errors of Arminius, allows this for orthodox; *Christum mortuum esse pro omnibus.* And for my part I wish with all my heart, that this had been the greatest error of Arminius. But yet whether I taxed that worthy prelate for this or no, I know not: this I know, that if I did tax him, he deserved it. And for bishops, even of divers Churches, to write one to another about points of divinity, yea, and sometimes to tax one another too, as their judgments lead them[1], hath been usual in all times and places. The next charge is—

> *That I bid him send up a list of the names of the counsellors and senators of the College of Justice, who did not communicate in the chapel, in a form which was not received in our Kirk: and that I commended him, when I found him obsequious to these my commandments; telling him, that I had moved the King the second time for the punishment of such as had not received in the chapel.*

91 Here I must desire again that 'this letter' of mine may be produced. For I have cause enough to suspect some material change in the matter or form of my words. Howsoever, if they be justly set down, I answer, That if this be one 'of the things which made great disturbance amongst them,' they would be greatly disturbed with a very little. For first, I writ nothing in this, but what I was expressly commanded by his Majesty: and I have his Majesty's warrant under his hand to keep a correspondence with that Bishop of Dunblain, that from time to time he might receive his Majesty's direc-

[1] ['yea . . . them,' in margin.]

πάντες ἐσώθησαν διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπιστίαν, αὐτὸς μέντοι τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐπὶ πάντας καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐποίησεν.—Œcum. Comm. vol. ii. p. 329. B. Lut. Par. 1631.]

[t] S. Jo. iii. 17; 2 Cor. v. 15; Heb. ii. 9; 1 Tim. ii. 6; 1 Tim. iv. 10; 1 S. Jo. ii. 1, 2.

[u] "Nemo mortalium est, qui non possit vere et serio per ministros evangelii vocari ad participationem remissionis peccatorum et vitæ æternæ per mortem Christi. (Act. xiii. 38, et S. Jo. iii. 17, 18.) Evangelio autem nihil falsum aut simulatum subest; sed quicquid in eo per ministros offertur, aut promittitur hominibus, id eodem modo ab Authore Evangelii offertur et promittitur iisdem . . .

"Sic ergó Christus pro omnibus mortuus est, ut omnes et singuli, mediante, fide possint virtute ἀντιλύτρου hujus remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam consequi, &c."—Sententia Theologorum Magn. Britan. apud Acta Synod. Dord. Artic. ii. Thes. iii. [apud Judic. Theol. Exter. pp. 78, 79. Lug. Bat. 1620.]

tion by me for the ordering of all those things[v]. And howsoever, the[1] thing itself is no more than as if his Majesty should command all his counsellors and judges here, once in the year at least to receive the communion in his chapel at White-Hall.

And if you say it is more, because it was to 'communicate in such a form as was not received in the Church of Scotland,' under favour that is not so neither. For this form here spoken against was to receive it 'kneeling;' and to receive the Sacrament 'kneeling' was an Article of the Synod of Perth[w], made in a General Assembly, and confirmed by Act of Parliament, both then in force when my letters were written. And therefore either this form 'was received in their Kirk,' (which is here denied,) or else there was little obedience in their Kirk, and Kirk-men, either to General Assembly or Parliament[x].

(17.) As for that which comes fluttering after, 'that I commended him, when I found him obsequious,' I had reason to do it: for (whatsoever is said here) it was to the King's commands, not to mine. And the reason why I writ, 'that I had moved the King a second time for the punishment of such as disobeyed,' was, because the Bishop had written unto me, that if some were not checked, or punished, none would obey. And 'tis true, too, that[2] I took occasion, once, and a second time, (but upon second letters of his to the same effect,) to move the King; but only by showing his Majesty what was written by him that was upon the place, and trusted with the office. Nor did I ever meddle further in those businesses, than by laying before his Majesty what

[1] ['and I have . . . the' in margin. It was originally written, 'by his Majesty. And the thing itself,' &c.]

[2] [And . . . that' in margin.]

[v] [Prynne (Hidden Works, p. 149) gives the King's letter thus:—
"CHARLES R.
"Canterbury, I require you to hold a correspondency with the Bishop of Dumblane, the present Dean of our Chapel Royal in Edinburgh, that so from time to time he may receive our directions by you for the ordering of such things as concern our service in the said Chapel.
"October 12, 1633."]

[w] Dr. Lindsay, Proceedings in the Assembly at Perth, an. 1618, par. 2, p. 26. [The full title of the book is, "A true Narration of all the Passages of the Proceedings in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, holden at Perth the 25th of August, anno Dom. 1618, by Dr. Lyndesay, Bishop of Brechen. London, 1621."]

[x] See the Articles of Perth in Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 78, and in Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 538.

was written to me to that end: leaving the King (as it became me) to judge both of the motion and the person that made it, as in his princely wisdom he thought fit. The next thing is, that in these letters,

> *I did upbraid him* (Bishop Ballantine, that is,) *that in his first Synod at Aberdeen he had only disputed against our custom in Scotland of fasting sometimes on the Lord's-day: and that I did presumptuously censure their Kirk that in this we were opposite to Christianity itself, and that amongst us there was no canon*[y] *at all. More of this stuff may be seen in the letters themselves.*

And my humble desire is that 'the letters may be seen.' For whatsoever account is made of 'this stuff,' it was once (and in far better times of the Church) valued at a better rate. And I shall not be ashamed of any 'stuff,' contained in any of my letters to this Bishop or any other; let them be produced when they please. But what then is 'this stuff?' 'Tis, that 'I upbraid this worthy prelate about their custom in Scotland of fasting sometimes on the Lord's-day: and
92 censure their Church presumptuously, as opposite herein to Christianity.' Surely I do not use to 'upbraid' meaner men than the Bishop is; much less presumptuously 'to censure a Church.' If I thought (as I do) that prelate in an error for 'only disputing' against that which he should have 'reformed,' I conceive it was no upbraiding.

As for the custom in Scotland, of fasting on the Lord's-day, it is not only 'sometimes,' as is here expressed, but [1] continually, when they have any solemn fast, the Lord's-day is the day for it. And if I did write, 'that that was opposite to Christianity itself,' I doubt it is too true. For it is against the practice of the whole Church of Christ; and that which is so, must 'oppose Christianity itself.' And this I find: that as apostolical universal tradition settled the Lord's-day for holy and public worship, so from [2] the very Apostles' times the same general tradition hath in all times accounted it

[1] [Originally written, 'and I would hope not without some sense of it, but' &c.]
[2] ['that . . . from' in marg. Originally written, 'find, that from the very next to the Apostles' times']

[y] 'Were no canons,' Rushw. and Pryn.

unlawful to fast upon that day. And if an ordinary fast were not lawful upon that day, much less was a solemn. Nor is there anything more clear in all antiquity. For in the 'Canons of the Apostles,' (which if they be not theirs, are very ancient,) 'If a priest did fast upon the Lord's-day, he was to be deposed; and if a layman, he was to be excommunicated [z].' And [1] S. Ignatius tells us, 'if any man fast upon the Lord's-day he is Christ's interfector, a murderer of Christ [a]:' and that I am sure is against Christianity itself. Tertullian professes 'tis altogether unlawful [b].' The Council of Gangra, held *an.* 324, decreed against it, and set an anathema upon it; and that not only when 'it is done in contempt of the day,' but also 'though it be done as a help to continency [c].' And S. Hilary agrees with this, and calls it not a custom, but a 'constitution [d];' such a constitution, as that 'if any man shall advisedly, and of set purpose, fast on the Lord's-day,' by the decree of the fourth Council of Carthage, 'he should not be (18) accounted a Catholic [e]:' and they must needs do it 'advisedly, and of set purpose,' who appoint a public solemn fast upon that day, and then keep it [2]. And this was so strictly observed in S. Ambrose's time, that 'it was not held lawful to fast upon that day, no not in Lent [f].' Nay, he goes farther: for he says expressly, 'If any man make a law, or give a command for fasting on the Lord's-day, he believes not in the resurrection of Christ [g].' And is not this opposite to

[1] ['Nor is there . . . And' in marg.]
[2] ['and they . . . keep it.' in marg.]

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[z] "Si clericus die Dominico jejunaverit, deponatur, si laicus segregetur." [Εἴ τις κληρικὸς εὑρεθῇ τὴν Κυριακὴν ἡμέραν νηστεύων, . . . καθαιρείσθω, εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς, ἀφοριζέσθω.]—Can. Apost. Can. lxv. [Conc. tom. i. col. 40. C.]

[a] [Εἴ τις Κυριακὴν . . . νηστεύοι . . .] οὗτος Χριστοκτόνος ἐστίν.—S. Ignat. Epist. viii. ad Philippenses, [cap. xiii. apud Cotel. Patr. Apost. tom. ii. p.119. Amst. 1724.]

[b] "Die Dominico jejunare nefas esse ducimus."—Tert. de Coron. Militis, cap. iii. [Op., p. 102. Paris. 1675.]

[c] "Si quis tanquam hoc continentiæ convenire judicans, die Dominico jejunaverit, aut in ejusdem diei contemptum, anathema sit." [Εἴ τις διὰ νομίζομένην ἄσκησιν ἐν τῇ Κυριακῇ νηστεύοι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.]—Conc. Gangren. Can. 18. [Conc. tom. ii. col. 424. The Latin version is given, ibid. col. 426. E.]

[d] "Constitutum est, ne diebus Dominicis jejunaretur."—S. Hil. Præfat. in Psal. [Op., col. 8. A. Paris. 1693.]

[e] "Qui die Dominico studiose jejunat, non credatur catholicus."—Concil. Carthag. IV. Can. lxiv. anno 398. [Conc. tom. ii. col. 1205. B.]

[f] "Quadragesima totis, præter Sabbatum, et Dominicum, jejunatur diebus." —[S.] Ambros. de Elia et Josu. cap. x. [§ 34. Op., tom. i. col. 545.]

[g] "Hoc est in resurrectione[m] Christi non credere, si legem quis jejunii die resurrectionis indicat."—S. Ambros. Epist. lxxxiii. [xxiii. Bened. § 11. Op., tom. ii. col. 883]

Christianity itself? And is not that *legem indicere,* when they proclaim or command a public fast? With him S. Augustin joins very fully, and first says, 'it is a great scandal [h];' then he gives the reason of it; 'because Christ joined mourning with fasting,' which becomes not 'this day,' unless men think 'tis fit to be sorry that Christ is risen from the dead. And this I am sure is opposite to Christianity itself.
53 For 'if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain [i].' After this he asks this question, 'Who doth not offend God, if with the scandal of the whole Church of Christ, he will fast upon the Lord's-day [j]?' I will not go lower down: this is enough if anything be. Yet this I'll add, that as this fasting on Sunday was anciently prohibited, so was it never practised of old but by notorious and professed heretics, as by the Manichees, who appointed that day for fasting (so S. Aug. [k]), and 'were justly condemned for it (so S. Ambrose [l]); and by Aërians, who fasted on Sunday and feasted on Fridays (so Epiphanius [m]); and by the Priscillianists, whom S. Augustin therefore calls the 'imitators of the Manichees [n],' and so they were indeed: for neither of them believed, that our blessed Saviour was a true man, and therefore disregarded the day of his resurrection, as appears in S. Leo [o]. And as against these the Council held at Cæsar-Augusta, *an.* 381, provided [p], so before *an.* 324, the Council at Gangra [q] made their canon against Eutactus the Armenian monk, and his ground was pretence of abstinence, as if he could never fast enough. This is enough; and all this is

[h] "Quisquis hunc diem jejunio decernendum putaverit, . . . non parvo scandalo erit."—S. Aug. Epist. lxxxvi. [xxxvi. Bened. § 2. Op., tom. ii. col. 101. C. Paris. 1836.] "Christus enim gaudium manducantibus, luctum jejunantibus deputavit."—S. Matt. ix. 15. Ibid. [§ 5. col. 104. A.]

[i] 1 Cor. xv. 14.

[j] "Quis non Deum offendet, si velit cum scandalo totius, quæ ubique dilatata est, Ecclesiæ die Dominico jejunare?"—Ibid. versus med. [§ 16. col. 110. A.]

[k] "Illum ut legitimum diem suis auditoribus ad jejunandum constituerunt."—S. Aug. Epist. lxxxvi. [xxxvi. Bened. § 27. Ibid. col. 117. A.]

[l] "Manichæos ob istius diei jejunia jure damnamus."—S. Ambros. Epist. lxxxiii. [xxiii. Bened. § 11. Op., tom. ii. col. 883.]

[m] ["Οθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς πεφιλοτίμηται μᾶλλον ἐν Κυριακῇ νηστεύειν, τετράδα δὲ καὶ προσάββατον ἐσθίειν.]—Epiphan. Hæres. lxxv. hær. 3. [p. 908. B. C. Paris. 1622.]

[n] "Manichæorum simillimos."—S. Aug. Epist. lxxxvi. [xxxvi. Bened. § 28. Ibid. col. 117. B.]

[o] S. Leo. Epist. xciii. cap. 4.

[p] Conc. Cæsar. August. can. ii. apud Bin. tom. i. par. 1. p. 553. [Conc. Labb. et Coss. tom. ii. col. 1009. D. E.]

[q] Conc. Gangrens. cap. xviii. [vide supra, note [c]] et Baron. Annal. an. 361. [§] 53. [54. tom. iii. coll. 1039, 1040. Mogunt. 1601.]

within the compass of the primitive Church, which certainly if these men did not scorn, they would never have urged this against me. Well! this is (they say) drawn out[1] of my fourteen letters. Next they will prove me the author of many disturbances among them.

2. *By two papers of memoirs and instructions from the pretended Bishop of St. Andrews, to the pretended Bishop of Ross,* [*coming*[r]] *to this Prelate* (that is, of Canterbury), *for ordering the affairs of the Kirk and Kingdom of Scotland.*

It is manifest here by their own words, that these 'memorials' and 'instructions,' whatsoever they were, had not 'me the Prelate of Canterbury for their prime cause on earth;' for they came from the reverend and prudent Archbishop of St. Andrews[s], to the reverend Bishop of Ross[t], by him to deliver[u] to me, for the 'ordering of the affairs of the Kirk and the Kingdom of Scotland.' Surely, I think no man will judge it to be a crime in me, to give my brethren, the Bishops of Scotland, the best counsel, and with that counsel the best assistance to his Majesty, that I could in their Church affairs[2]; considering their absence, and remoteness from him, and the place that I bear about him. And for my own part, had I been defective therein, I should have thought myself not only unkind to them, but faulty otherwise in my duty, both to his Majesty and that Church. But for the 'affairs of that kingdom,' (though I had the honour to be a sworn counsellor of that State[v] as well as this,) yet I never meddled with them, but at such time, and in such a way, as I was called and commanded to by his Majesty. Let us therefore see the particulars, which are named.

As not only to obtain warrants to order the Exchequer, the Privy Council, the great Commission of Surrenders, the matter of Balmerinoe's process, as might please our pre- 94

[1] ['urged . . . out' in margin. Originally, 'This out of my.']
[2] ['in their Church affairs;' in marg.]

[r] The word 'coming' is added from Rushw. and Pryn.
[s] [John Spottiswoode.]
[t] [John Maxwell.]
[u] To be delivered.
[v] [See Diary, June 15, 1633.]

lates; but warrants (19) *also for the sitting of the High Commission Court once a week in Edinburgh; and to gain from the noblemen, for the benefit of the prelates and their adherents, the Abbacies of Kelsoe, Arbroth, St. Andrews, and Lindores.*

For the first of these, 'my obtaining warrants to order the Exchequer there;' that is indeed an affair of the 'kingdom,' and a great one. But all or most that I did herein, was at the earnest entreaty of the Earl of Traquair[w], Treasurer Depute, and after that Ld. Treasurer; who avowed to me, that if the orders were settled for the Exchequer, he would not only bring the King out of debt, but raise him some revenue also; with a protestation further, that for that, and some such like particulars, he could trust no hand but mine in his absence to get them done, and kept private. And at so great an officer's entreaty, and for matters under his own charge[1], I could not refuse so much service for the King, as was pretended by him.

As for 'orders to the Privy Council,' I remember not any procured by me. And sure I am, if I did anything to that honourable body, it was by his Majesty's command, and in relation to Church affairs there. And for 'the great Commission of Surrenders,' in which both the bishops and the inferior clergy were deeply interested, and did much fear the loss of their tithes, and to be made stipendiaries; I conceive, I had all the reason in the world to give them my best assistance; and yet I undertook not this care, till his Majesty gave me a special command to do what I did[2]. And if the bishops were in anything mistaken in this commission, that cannot charge[x] upon me, who followed it no further than I received special directions from his Majesty for the public good[y]. For the Lord 'Balmerinoe's process,' I heard much discourse of it at Court, but I meddled nothing with it, one way or other, saving that at the entreaty of some men of honour of that nation, I did twice (if not thrice) adventure

[1] ['and . . . charge,' in marg.]
[2] ['to do what I did.' in marg.]

[w] [John Stuart, created, June 22, 1633, Earl of Traquair.]
[x] Be charged.
[y] [See the Archbishop's Letter to the Earl of Traquair, July 4, 1637.]

to become an humble suitor to his Majesty in that Ld.'s behalf. And this was all the harm I did him.

As for the 'High Commission Court,' if there were no fault in it, as such a Court, then I am sure there could be none in the sitting of it once a week. If the having of such a Court be a fault, (as it seems 'tis now accounted, as well here as there,) yet for my own part, with all humble submission to better judgment, I cannot think it is; and I must still pray, that both nations have not cause to repent the abolishing of it. But howsoever, this was not of my procuring. A Scotchman of good place was employed about it from the bishops, and effected it; and I could name him; but since it is here charged as a fault, I shall accuse no man else, but defend myself. And this for the sitting of it once a week. But for the establishing of that Court in that kingdom; that was done long before I was a bishop, or had anything to do in the public. For it appears by one of the 95
greatest factionists[z] in that kingdom, that the High Commission Court was settled, and in full execution, in the year 1610, when all men know I led a private life in Oxford; by which it is more than manifest, that I neither was, nor could be, author of this pretended novation, or any disturbance that followed from it[1].

The next is a great charge indeed, were there any truth in it: that I laboured 'to gain from the noblemen, for the benefit of the prelates and their adherents, the Abbacies of Kelsoe, Arbroth, S. Andrews, and Lindores.' To begin at the ast; the man that followed that, was Mr. Andrew Lermot[a].

[1] ['establishing . . . from it.' in marg.]

[z] "Ad Anglicani tribunalis exemplar formatum est an. 1610. aliud in Scotia, cujus authoritate, et potestate altaris Anglicani ἔκτυπον efformandum erat. Quidam ministri episcopalem jurisdictionem et tyrannidem in Ecclesia affectantes, armati sunt potestate utriusque gladii, quo facilius episcopalem dominationem invaderent; idque sub diplomate Regio, absque ullo statuto vel specie minima consensus procerum et ordinum regni, ut in Anglia. Delegata Commissariorum jurisdictione freti, Ecclesiam nostram in hunc usque diem vi subigunt, et miserum in modum opprimunt Spottiswodius Andreapolitanus, Lawes Glascuensis, &c." Altare Damascenum, p. 28. Typis excusus est hic liber an. 1623. [Auctore Dav. Calderwood sub nomine Edv. Didoclavii.]

[a] [This appears to be the same person as Andrew Learmouth, who was employed as the means of communication between the Bishops who remained in Scotland, and their brethren who were in London. See Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. p. 748.]

He came recommended to me very highly, and with assurance that the title which he laid to Lindores was just and legal. But notwithstanding all this, my answer was, that I knew not the laws of that kingdom, nor would meddle with anything of that nature. And though he made great means to me, yet he could never get me to meddle in it; and which is more, I told him and his friends, that for so much as I did understand, I did much fear this way, taken by him, would do mischief. And though Mr. Lermot have the general repute of an honest and a learned man; yet for this very business' sake, I have made myself a stranger to him ever since: and that all this is truth, he and his friends yet living are able to testify.

(20.) For S. Andrews, his Majesty took a resolution to rebuild the cathedral there; which he found he could no way so well do, as by annexing that abbey to the Archbishopric of S. Andrews, with a legal caution for so much yearly to be laid out upon that building. My Ld. Duke of Richmond and Lenox [b], who was owner of it, had for it . . . . . thousand pounds. The Earl of Traquair (who then managed the Ld. Duke's affairs) made the bargain with the King; and that which I did in it, was merely to consider how security might be given that the money, which the King intended for so good and great a work, as the rebuilding of that cathedral [1], might be employed to the right use, and no other.

For Arbroth, my Lord Marquis Hamilton [c], without any the least thought of mine that way, made his earnest suit to me, that his Majesty would take Arbroth, and join it to the very poor Bishopric of Brechin, close to which it lay, and give him for it a suit [d] here in England. At his Lp.'s entreaty I obtained this; and he very nobly conveyed Arbroth, as he promised. But things were so carried by the E. of Traquair, the Ld. Treasurer of Scotland, that the poor Bp. of Brechin [e] could never get that settled upon his See;

[1] ['as the . . . cathedral,' in marg.]

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[b] [James Stuart, third Duke of Richmond.]

[c] [James Hamilton, third Marquis, frequently mentioned in this history.]

[d] Viz. Grant a request, or favour desired.

[e] [Walter Whitford.]

which was not the only thing in which that Ld. played fast and loose with me.

For Kelsoe, the like earnest suit did my Ld. the Earl of Roxborough[f] make to me of himself for an exchange, and pressed me three or four times before he could get me to 96
move his Majesty. Indeed, I was fearful lest the King should grow weary of such exchanges; (for sure I was, whatsoever was pretended, none of these lords meant to lose by their bargain;) till at last, my Ld. of Roxborough was so honourable, as that he would needs leave Kelsoe to the King's disposing, and stay for such recompence as he should think fit to give him, till his Majesty found his own time. This (at his earnest entreaty still) I acquainted the King with: and so that business settled for a small time; but how 'tis now, I know not[1]. And this was all that ever I did about Arbroth and Kelsoe. And these two honourable lords are yet living, and will witness this truth. But the charge says further—

> *That in the smallest matters, they* (the prelates) *received his commandments. As for taking down galleries and stone walls, in the Kirks of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, for no other end but to make way for altars and adoration towards the east; which (beside other evils) made no small noise and disturbance amongst the people, deprived hereby of their ordinary accommodation for public worship.*

This charge is like the rest. Is it probable, that such grave and learned men, as those of the Scottish Bps. were which held intercourse with me, should not resolve 'in the smallest matters, till they receive my commandments;' who never sent command to any of them in my life, but what I received expressly from the King? and they certainly were not for 'the smallest matters.'

As for the taking down of galleries in S. Andrews; to the uttermost of my memory, I never gave either command

[1] ['for a . . . not.' in marg.]

[f] [Sir Rob. Kerr, created, Sept. 18, 1616, Earl of Roxborough.]

or direction. Nor can it stand with any show of probability, that I should 'command the taking down of galleries in S. Andrews,' where I had nothing to do, and let galleries stand in so many churches in London and other parts of my province where I had power. The truth is, I did never like galleries in any church; they utterly deface the grave beauty and decency of those sacred places; and make them more like a theatre than a church. Nor, in my judgment, do they make any 'great accommodation' for the auditory: for, in most places, they hinder as much room beneath as they make above; rendering all or most of those places useless, by the noise and trampling of them which (21) stand above in the galleries. And if I be mistaken in this, 'tis nothing to the business in hand: for be galleries what they will for the use, I commanded not the taking of them down at S. Andrews.

At Edinburgh the King's command took down the stone walls and galleries, which were there removed, and not mine. For his Majesty having, in a Christian and princely way, erected and endowed[1] a bishopric in Edinburgh, he resolved to make the great church of S. Giles, in that city, a cathedral; and to this end, gave order to have the 'galleries' in the lesser church, and the 'stone wall' which divided them, taken down. For of old, they were both one church, and made
97 two by a wall built up at the west end of the chancel; so that that which was called the lesser church, was but the chancel of S. Giles, with galleries round about it; and was for all the world like a square theatre, without any show of a church; as is also the Church at Brunt Island over against it. And I remember, when I passed over at the Frith, I took it at first sight for a large square pigeon-house; so free was it from all suspicion of being so much as built like an ancient church. Now, since his Majesty took down these 'galleries' and the 'stone wall,' to make S. Giles's Church a cathedral there, certainly my command took them not down, 'to make way for altars and adoration towards the east;' which I never commanded in that, or any other church in Scotland. The charge goes on.—

[1] ['and endowed' in marg.]

ART. II.

The second novation which troubled our peace, was a Book of Canons[g] *and Constitutions Ecclesiastical obtruded upon our Kirk, found by our General Assembly to be devised for establishing a tyrannical power in the persons of our prelates over the worship of God, and over the consciences, liberties, and goods of the people, and for abolishing the whole discipline and government of our Kirk, by General and Provincial Assemblies, Presbyteries, and Kirk-Sessions; which was settled by law, and in continual practice from the time of Reformation.*

This charge begins with a general, and will come to particulars after. And first, it seems they are angry with a 'Book of Canons.' Excellent Church-government, it seems, they would have, that will admit of no Canons to direct or control their liberty. And if they mean by 'obtruding upon their Church,' that the Canons were unduly thrust upon them, because that book was confirmed by the King's authority, then 'tis a bold phrase to call it 'obtruding.' For if his Majesty that now is, did by his sole authority commend the present Book of Canons to the Church of Scotland, he did but exercise that power which King James challenged did in the right of his crown belong to him; as appears manifestly by a letter of his to the Prelates of Scotland then assembled at Perth. That royal letter is large, but very worthy any man's reading, and is to be seen in the relation of those proceedings[h]. But because they speak of my 'novations,' if they mean that this[1] Book of Canons was obtruded upon their Church by me; or if it were found in a just Synod, and upon fair proceedings, to 'establish a tyrannical power of the prelates over the worship of God, or the consciences, liberties, or goods of the people, or for abolishing anything that was settled by laws;' they had reason both to be troubled, and to seek in a dutiful manner, first rightly to inform his Majesty,

[1] ['And if they mean . . . this' in marg. Originally, 'liberty. Indeed, if this.']

[g] [These Canons will be printed in the Appendix to this History.]

[h] Proceedings at Perth, [par. i.] pp. [49,] 50[–53].

and then to desire a remedy from him[1]. But if the Book of Canons did really none of these things, as (for aught I yet know) it did not, and as I hope will appear, when they come to particulars, then this will be no longer a charge, but a slander. And howsoever, if anything in those Canons were ordered 'against their laws,' it was by our invincible ignorance,
98 and their Bishops' fault, that would not tell us wherein we went 'against their laws,' if so we did. And for my own part, I did ever advise them to make sure in the whole business, that they attempted nothing 'against law.' But[2] if their late General Assembly, in which (they say) these things were found to be 'against law[3],' did proceed unwarrantably, or factiously, (as the most learned men of that kingdom avow it did,) the less heed must, and will in future times, be given to their proceedings. But before they come to particulars, they think fit to lay load on me, and say :—

> *That Canterbury was master of this work, is manifest by a Book of Canons sent to him, written upon the one side only, with the other side blank, for corrections, additions, and putting all in better order, at his pleasure; which accordingly* (22) *was done; as may appear by the interlinings, marginals, and filling up of the blank pages, with directions sent to our prelates.*

I was no 'master of this work,' but a servant to it, and commanded thereunto by his sacred Majesty (as I have to show under his hand[1]). And the work itself was begun in his Majesty's blessed father's time; for the Bishops of Scotland were gathering their Canons then. And this is most manifest by a passage in the sermon which my Ld. the Archbishop of S. Andrews[k] preached before the General Assembly

[1] ['manner . . . him.' in marg. Originally, 'dutiful way remedy from his Majesty.']
[2] ['And howsoever . . . But' in marg.] [3] ['to be against law,' in marg.]

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[1] [Prynne (Hidden Works, p. 152) gives the warrant as follows :—
"CHARLES R.
"Canterbury, I would have you and the Bishop of London peruse the Canons which are sent from the Bishops of Scotland, and to your best skill see that they be well fitted for Church-government, and as near as conveniently may be to the Canons of the Church of England. And to that end you, or either of you, may alter what you find fitting."]
[k] [John Spotiswood.]

at Perth, *an.* 1618[1], when I was a private man, and had nothing to do with these things. The words are these: "And when I least expected, these Articles (that is, the five Articles of Perth) were sent unto me; not to be proponed to the Church, but to be inserted amongst the Canons thereof, which were then in gathering, touching which point I humbly excused myself, &c.[m]" So this work was begun, and known to that Church, long before I had anything to do with it. And now, when it came to be perfected, I did nothing but as I was commanded and warranted by his Majesty. But indeed [1], according to this command, I took a great deal more pains than I have thanks for; as it too often falls out with the best churchmen. To this end, 'tis true, a Book of Canons was, not sent me, but brought by my Ld. the Bishop of Ross, and delivered to me; and if it were 'written on one side only, and left blank on the other for corrections or additions,' I hope there's no sin in that, to leave room and space for me to do that for which the book was brought to me. As for that which follows, it hath less fault in it. For they say, it was for 'my putting all in better order.' And I hope, to put all in better order, is no crime censurable in this Court. And whatever they of Scotland think, that Church did then need many things to be put in better order, and at this day need many more.

Yea, but they say, this should not be done 'at my pleasure.' I say so too; neither was it. For whatsoever I thought fit to correct, or add, in the copy brought to me, I did very humbly and fairly submit to the Church of Scotland; and under those terms delivered it back to the Bishop which brought it [2], with all the 'interlinings, marginals, and fillings up of blank pages,' and the best 'directions' I was able to give them. And all this was in me obedience to his Majesty, and no wrong, that I know, to the Church of Scotland; I am sure, not intended by me. Neither are these 'interlinings' 99
or 'additions' so many as they are here insinuated to be; for the Bishops of Scotland had been very careful in this

[1] ['And the work (p. 317.) . . . indeed,' inserted on opposite page.]
[2] ['which brought it,' in marg.]

[1] [On the text, 1 Cor. xi. 16.] [m] Proceedings of Perth, [par. i.] p. 40.

work. All which would clearly appear, were the book produced[1]. Yet the charge goes on against me still:—

And that it was done by no other than Canterbury, is evident by his magisterial way of prescribing, and by a new copy of these Canons, all written with S. Andrews' own hand precisely to a letter, according to the former castigations and directions, sent back to procure the King's warrant unto it; which accordingly was obtained.

'By no other hand than Canterbury's,' is very roundly affirmed. How is it proved? Why, by two reasons. First, they say, 'tis evident, 'by his magisterial way of prescribing.' An excellent argument! The Book of Canons was delivered to me ready made. That which was mine is here confessed to be but 'interlinings,' and 'marginals,' and 'corrections,' and at most some 'additions:' and they would be found a very small 'some,' were the original book seen. And yet it must be evident that no hand but mine did this, 'by my magisterial way of prescribing,' in an 'interlining,' or a 'marginal.' Excellent evidence!

Secondly, they have another great evidence of this. But because that is so nervous and strong, I will be bold to reduce it to some form, that it may appear the clearer, though it be against myself. There was, they say, 'a new copy of these Canons, all written with S. Andrews' own hand, and according to the former castigations and directions, sent to have the King's warrant to it, which was obtained:' therefore these 'interlinings' and 'marginals,' &c. were 'done by no other than Canterbury.' Most excellent evidence, and clear as midnight!

The plain truth is contrary to all this evidence. For by the same command of his Majesty, the reverend Bishop of London[n] was joined with me in all the view and consideration which I had, either upon the Book of Canons, or upon the Service-book after. So it is utterly untrue, that these 'interlinings,' or 'marginals,' or 'corrections,' or call them what you will, were 'done by no other than Canterbury.' For my

[1] ['Neither are these . . . produced.' inserted on opposite page.]

[n] [William Juxon.]

Lord of London's both head and hand were as deep in them as mine. And this I avow for well-known truth, both to the King and those Scottish Bishops which were then employed; and this notwithstanding all the evidence of 'a magisterial' way,' and 'a new copy.' And yet this general charge pursues me yet[1] further, and says:—

(23.) *The King's warrant was obtained (as is said) to these Canons, but with an addition of some other Canons, and a paper of new*[o] *corrections, according to which the Book of Canons, thus composed, was published in print. The inspection of the books, instructions, and his letters of joy for the success of the work, and of other letters from*[p] *the Prelate of London and the Lord Sterling, to the same purpose, (all which we are ready to exhibit,) will put the matter out of all debate.*

Yet more ado about nothing? Yet more noise of proof 100
'to put that out of all debate' which need never enter into any? For if no more be intended than that I had a view of the Book of Canons, and 'did make some interlinings, and marginals, and the like,' I have freely acknowledged it, and by whose command I did it, and who was joined with me in the work. So there will need no proof of this, either by my 'letters,' or the 'Prelate of London's,' or the 'Ld. Sterling's.' Yet let them be exhibited, if you please. But if it be intended (as 'tis laid) 'that this was done by no other than Canterbury,' then I utterly deny it; and no proof here named, or any other, shall ever be able to make it good.

As for 'the addition of some other Canons, and papers of new corrections, according to which the Book of Canons is said to be composed and published,' truly, to the utmost of my memory, I know of none such; but that the copy written by my Ld. of S. Andrews' own hand, and sent up, (as is before mentioned,) was the very copy which was warranted by his Majesty, and published without any further alteration. But if any further alteration were, it was by the same authority, and with the same consent. And for 'my letters of joy for

[1] [Originally written, 'me still yet,' 'still' erased.]

[o] 'Some other,' Rushw. and Pryn. [p] 'Of,' Rushw. and Pryn.

the success of the work,' let them be exhibited, when you please. I will never deny that joy, while I live, that I conceived of the Church of Scotland's coming nearer, both in the Canons and the Liturgy, to the Church of England. But our gross unthankfulness both to our God and King, and our other many and great sins, have hindered this great blessing. And I pray God, that the loss of this, which was now almost effected, do not in short time prove one[1] of the greatest mischiefs which ever befel this kingdom, and that too. This is the general charge about the Canons: now follow the particulars.

Beside this general charge, there be some things more special, worthy to be adverted unto, for discovering his spirit. First, the fourth Canon of cap. viii.: '*Forasmuch as no reformation in doctrine or discipline can be made perfect at once in any church, therefore it shall and may be lawful for the Kirk of Scotland, at any time, to make remonstrances to his Majesty or his successors,*' &c. *Because this Canon holds the door open to more innovations, he writes to the Prelate of Ross, his prime agent in all this work, of his great gladness, that this Canon did stand behind the curtain; and his great desire, that this Canon might be printed fully, as one that was to be most useful.*

Now come the particulars, 'worthy to be adverted unto for the discovery of my spirit.' And the first is taken out of the fourth Canon of cap. viii. The charge is, that 'this Canon holds the door open to more innovations.' First, I conceive, this accusation is vain. For that Canon[2] restrains all power from private men, clergy or lay; nay, from bishops in a Synod, or otherwise, to alter anything in doctrine or discipline, without authority from his Majesty or his successors[3]. Now all innovations come from private assumption of authority, not from authority itself. For in civil affairs, when the King and the State, upon emergent occasions, shall abrogate (24) some
101 old laws, and make other new, that cannot be counted an 'invation.' And in Church affairs, every Synod that hath sat in

[1] [This clause originally written, 'and I pray God, it do not prove in short time, that the loss of this which was now almost effected will be one']

[2] [After 'Canon' the words 'requires that' erased.]

[3] ['authority . . . successors.' Originally written, 'the King's authority.']

all times and all places[1] of Christendom, have with leave of superior authority, declared some points of doctrine, condemned other some; altered some ceremonials, made new constitutions for better assisting the government. And none of these have ever been accounted innovations, the foundations of religion still remaining firm and unmoved[2]. Nay, under favour, I conceive it most necessary, that thus it ought to be. And therefore this Canon is far from 'holding a door open for more innovations;' since it shuts it upon all, and leaves no power to alter anything, but by 'making a remonstrance to the supreme authority,' that in a Church way approbation may be given when there is cause.

And therefore, if I did write to the 'Prelate of Ross that this Canon might be printed fully, as one that was to be most useful,' I writ no more then than I believe now. For certainly it is a Canon, that in a well-governed Church may be of great use. And the more, because in truth it is but declaratory of that power, which a National Church hath, with leave[3] and approbation of the supreme power, to alter and change any alterable thing pertaining to doctrine or discipline in the Church. And as for that phrase, said to be[4] in my letter, that 'this Canon did stand behind the curtain,' it was thus occasioned. My Ld. the Bp. of Ross writ unto me, from the Archbp. of St. Andrews, that no words might be made of this Canon; (what their reason was, they best know:) I returned answer belike in this sort; 'That the Canon stood behind the curtain,' and would not be thoroughly understood by every man; yet advised the printing in regard of the 'necessary use of it[q].' For let this Canon be in force, and right use made of it, and a National Church may ride safe, by God's ordinary blessing, through any storm; which without this latitude it can never do. The next charge is in the

2. *Title prefixed to these Canons by our prelates. For there 'tis thus: 'Canons agreed on to be proponed to the several Synods of the Kirk of Scotland;' and is thus changed*

[1] ['all places' in marg. Originally written, 'parts']
[2] ['the foundations . . . unmoved.' on opposite page.]
[3] [Originally written, 'leave obtained,']
[4] ['said to be' in margin.]

[q] [See Laud's Letter, Sept. 19, 1635.]

by Canterbury, 'Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, &c. ordained to be observed by the Clergy.' He will not have Canons to come from the authority of Synods, but from the power of prelates, or from the King's prerogative.

I perceive they mean to sift narrowly, when the title cannot scape. But truly in this charge I am to seek, which is greater in my accusers, their ignorance or their malice: their ignorance in the charge, or their malice in the inference upon it. The 'title' was, 'Canons agreed upon to be proponed to the Synods of[1] the Kirk of Scotland.' And this was very fit, to express the prelates' intendment, which (for aught I know) was to propose them so. But this book, which was brought to me, was to be printed: and then that title could not stand with any congruity of sense. For no Church uses to print 'Canons, which are to be proponed to their Synods;' but such as have been proposed, and agreed on.
102 Nor did this altering of the title, in any the least thing hinder those worthy prelates from communicating them with their Synods before they printed them. And therefore the inference must needs be extreme full of malice, to force from hence that 'I would not have Canons come from the authority of Synods, but from the power of prelates or the King's prerogative:' whereas most manifest it is, that the fitting of this title for the press doth neither give any power to 'prelates,' nor add to the 'King's prerogative' more than is his due, nor doth it detract anything from the 'authority of Synods.' For I hope the Bishops had no purpose but to ordain them in Synod to be observed by the Clergy, &c., and approved and published by the King's consent and authority. After this, comes—

3. *The formidable Canon, cap.* i. 3, *threatening no less than excommunication against all such persons, whosoever shall open their mouths against any of these books, proceeded not from our prelates, nor is to be found in copies*[r] *sent from them, but is a thunderbolt forged in Canterbury's own fire.*

First, whether 'this Canon be to be found in the copies

[1] ['to the Synods of' in margin. Originally, 'to the Kirk']

[r] 'The copies,' Rushw.; 'the copy,' Pryn.

sent from your prelates, or not,' I cannot tell; but sure it was in the copy brought to (25) me, or else my memory forsakes me very strangely. Secondly, after all this noise made of a 'formidable Canon,' because not less is threatened than 'excommunication;' I would fain know what the Church can do less upon contempt of her canons, liturgy, and ordinations, than to 'excommunicate' the offenders; or what Church, in any age, laid less upon a crime so great. Thirdly, suppose this 'thunderbolt' (as 'tis called) 'were forged in Canterbury's fire,' yet that fire was not outrageous. For this Canon contains as much as the 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 Canons of the Church of England, made in the beginning of the gracious reign of King James; and yet to every one of those Canons there is an excommunication *ipso facto* affixed for every one of these crimes single: whereas this canon shoots this one 'thunderbolt' but once against them all. And this I would my accusers should know, that if no more 'thunderbolts had been forged in their fire,' than have been in mine, nor State nor Church would have flamed, as of late they have done.

4. *Our prelates in divers places witness their dislike of Papists.* '*A minister shall be deposed, if he shall* [Rushw.] *be found negligent to convert Papists,' cap.* viii. 15. '*The adoration of the bread is a superstition to be condemned,' cap.* vi. 6. *They call the* '*absoluteness*[s] *of baptism, an error of Popery,' cap.* vi. 2. *But in Canterbury's edition the name of Papists and Popery are*[t] *not so much as mentioned.*

Here's a great general accusation, offered to be made good by three particulars. The general is, 'That in the copy of the Canons, which their prelates sent, there's a dislike of Papists: but none in the edition, as it was altered by me.' Now this is utterly untrue; for it is manifest, cap. i. 1, there is express care taken for 'the King's Majesty's jurisdiction 103
over the estate ecclesiastical, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to it.' And again, in the same Canon, 'That no[1] foreign power hath[2] (in his Majesty's dominions) any esta-

[1] ['Canon, That no' in margin.]
[2] [Originally written, 'hath any in these kingdoms.']

[s] 'Absolute necessity' Pryn. and Rushw. [t] 'is' Rushw. and Pryn.

blishment by the law of God:' and this with an addition, 'That the exclusion of all such power is just.' And, cap. ii. 9, 'tis ordained, 'That every ecclesiastical person shall take the Oath of Supremacy.' And, cap. x. 3, 'All readers in any college or school shall take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.' And sure, I think, 'tis no great matter whether Papists or Popery be named, so long as the Canons go so directly against them.

This for the general. Now for the three particulars. And first, that which was in cap. viii. 15, 'That a minister shall be deposed, if he be found negligent to convert Papists,' I did think fit to leave out, upon these two grounds. The one, that the word 'negligent' is too general an expression, and of too large an extent, to lay a minister open to 'deposition.' And if Church-governors, to whom the execution of the Canons is committed, should forget Christian moderation (as they may *pati humana*), a very worthy minister might sometimes be undone for a very little 'negligence;' for negligence is negligence, be it never so little. Besides, I have learned out of the Canons of the Church of England[u] that even 'gross negligence,' in a matter as great as this is, is punished but with 'suspension for three months[1].' The other ground why I omitted this clause is, because I do not think the Church of Scotland, or any other particular[2] Church, is so blessed in her priests, as that every of her ministers[3] is for learning, and judgment, and temper, able and fit to convert Papists. And therefore I did think then, and do think yet, that it is not so easy a work, or to be made so common, but that it is, and may be much fitter for some able selected men to undertake. And if any man think God's gifts in him to be neglected (as men are apt to overvalue themselves), let them try their gifts, and labour their conversion in God's name. But let not the Church by a Canon set every man[4] on work, lest their weak or indiscreet performance hurt the cause, and blemish the Church.

[1] ['Besides . . . three months.' in margin.] [2] ['particular' in margin.]
[3] [Originally 'every minister.']
[4] ['set every man,' originally, 'enable every man.']

[u] Can. lxix.

The second particular is an excellent one. It is about the 'adoration of the bread' in the blessed Sacrament, cap. vi. 6. And 'tis implied, as if this superstition were condemned in the copy sent by their prelates, but left out by me. Good God! how shameless are these Churchmen! for they drew up these Articles against me, though the Lay Commissioners delivered them. And was there neither clergy nor layman among them so careful, as to compare the words of the charge, (26) with the words of the Canon, before they would venture to deliver them into so great a Court as the Parliament of England? Would not Mr. Alexander Henderson [1], who was the prime leader in these Church-affairs, be so careful for himself, and his own reputation, as not publicly to deliver in a most notorious untruth? For most manifest it is, that [2] these words, 'As therefore the adoration of the bread is condemned,' &c., stand still in the copy revised by me, as is to be seen in the printed copy of those Canons; and in the same place by them quoted; and in a different character; that I wonder how any man's eye could miss 104
them. So here I am accused for putting that out, which I left in.

The third particular is, 'That their prelates call the absoluteness of baptism an error of Popery,' cap. vi. 2; which is left out too (they say) in my edition (as they will needs call the printed copy). The truth is, this we did think fit to leave out, because the absolute necessity of baptism (in the ordinary way of the Church, leaving God (as He is) most free to save with baptism, or without, as Himself pleases) is no 'Popish error,' but the true tenet of the 'Catholic Church of Christ;' and was, by their good leave, an error in 'your prelates' to call it so: and I provided both for 'truth,' and their 'credit,' by keeping it from the view of Christendom. Nor could you expect other from me in this point [3], being an Archbishop of the Church of England, which maintains 'the necessity of baptism,' such as is above mentioned: as appears in the Rubric before Public Baptism in the Service-book, confirmed

[1] ['Henderson,' orig. 'Hendershame.']
[2] ['and his own reputation . . , that' in margin. It was originally written, and then erased, 'as to hinder the publishing of his own shame, which it seems his malice forgot, while he laboured to shame me. For the truth is that']
[3] ['in this point,' in margin.]

by Act of Parliament. The words are these: 'Though it be fittest to administer baptism on Sundays and other holy-days, &c.; nevertheless, if necessity so require, children may at all times be baptized at home.' And again, in the Rubric before Private Baptism, thus: 'When great need shall compel them to baptize their children at home, it shall be administered on this fashion[x].' And further, the Church of England takes care to have such ministers punished, 'as shall defer baptism, if the child be in danger[y].' So that I could not let this clause stand in the Scottish Canons, but I must charge my mother the Church of England, as guilty of maintaining an 'error of Popery,' and the Parliament of England for confirming it.

5. *Our prelates have not the boldness to trouble us in their Canons, with altars, fonts, chancels, reading of a long Liturgy before sermons*[z], *&c. But Canterbury is punctual and peremptory in all these.*

When I met so often with this phrase, 'our prelates' do this and that, 'in which Canterbury is punctual and peremptory,' it made me hope[1] at first these men had some good opinion of their 'own prelates.' But so soon as they had[2] once gotten the power into their own hands, they made it presently appear that though 'their prelates[3] had not the boldness to trouble them,' yet they had the impudence to cast the prelates out of all the means they had, and without any the least mercy to themselves, their wives, and children: and that in a most ignorant and barbarous manner, calling them the 'limbs and members of Antichrist.'

But what's the crime which your 'prelates had not the boldness to trouble you[4] with,' and in which Canterbury, that strange man, is so 'punctual and peremptory?' *O! grave crimen Caie Cæsar!* 'Tis a charge indeed—a mighty charge! a 'novation' of above thirteen hundred years old.

[1] ['hope' originally written 'doubt']
[2] ['But... had' originally written, 'But it appeared quickly after they had']
[3] ['hands, ... prelates,' originally written, 'hands, that for all this that our prelates']
[4] ['you' in margin.]

[x] [The substance of the Rubrics is given in both these cases, not the actual words.]
[y] Can. lxix.
[z] 'Sermon,' Rushw. and Pryn.

For after the Church was once formally settled under the Christian Emperors, nay, and for some years before[1], I challenge these men to show any Church under heaven, without that which was promiscuously called, 'the holy table,' or 'altar;' or without a 'font,' or a 'chancel,' or a formal set 'Liturgy' before sermon, &c. And therefore if I were 'punc- 105
tual' in these, I did but my duty. But 'peremptory' I am sure I was not, as well knowing the difference between things of decency and uniformity, and things of 'necessity to salvation.' But the charge must go on for all this.

6. *For although the words of the tenth Canon, cap.* iii., *be fair, yet the wicked intentions of Canterbury and Ross may be seen in the point of justification of a sinner before God, by comparing the Canon as it came from our prelates, and as it was returned from Canterbury, and printed.*

(27) Here's a confession, 'that the words of the tenth Canon, cap. iii., are fair;' and so they are indeed. The Canon runs thus: 'It is manifest that the superstition of former ages is turned into great profaneness; and that people, for the most part, are grown cold for doing any good; esteeming that good works are not necessary. Therefore shall all presbyters, as their text gives occasion, urge the necessity of good works to their hearers.' These words they say are fair; and sure they are so. What's amiss then? What? why, 'the wicked intentions of Canterbury and Ross.' God bless us! 'Wicked intentions' under such fair words? Now God forbid. I hope Ross had none; I am sure Canterbury had not. But how come they to be judges of our 'intentions?' How? why, they say, 'they may be seen in the point of the justification of a sinner before God.' That's a high point, and a dangerous, for any man to have 'wicked intentions' about it. How then may our 'wicked intentions' be seen? Why, 'by comparing the Canons;' so they say. And I desire nothing more than that the book, which I perused, may be produced: and upon sight of it, I will acknowledge and make good whatsoever I did; or humbly crave pardon for what I cannot make good. And though I cannot get to see the book, yet you shall hear the comparison.

[1] ['nay . . . before,' in margin.]

Our prelates say thus: 'It is manifest that the superstitions of former ages are turned into a great profaneness, and that people are grown cold, for the most part, in doing any good; thinking there is no place for good works, because they are excluded from justification. Therefore shall all ministers, as their text gives occasion, urge the necessity of good works, as they would be saved; and remember that they are via regni, *the way to the kingdom of heaven,* quamvis non sint causa regnandi, *howbeit they be not the cause of our salvation.'*

How the Canon goes now is manifest in the words preceding: how it went before in the copy which their prelates sent, is now expressed. And if it be fairly related, here are two things charged to be left out. The one is this passage, 'Because they are excluded from justification.' And the other is, that known place of S. Bernard, that 'good works are *via regni, non causa regnandi.*' Now I conceive both these passages may be left out of this Canon, without any 'wicked intentions in either Canterbury or Ross against the point of justification.' But let the charge proceed.

106 *Here Ross gives his judgment, that he would have this Canon simply commanding good works to be preached, and no mention made what place they have or have not in justification. Upon this motion, so agreeable to Canterbury's mind, the Canon is set down, as it stands, without the distinction of* via regni, et causa regnandi, *or any word sounding that way, urging only the necessity of good works.*

Well! now at last I see the bottom of this charge: and I see too, that too many men are shy of 'good works;' and for fear more should be attributed to them than is fit, refuse to acknowledge that which is due unto them[1]. But sure I am there is a command, and more than one, expressly, in the text, for the doing of 'good works,' and that 'without any distinction.' And so I conceive the Scripture is warrant enough for this Canon, to command the preaching of 'good works,' even 'without any distinction' at all whatsoever;

[1] ['refuse . . . them.' on opposite page.]

since God hath so absolutely and so expressly commanded, that we should serve him in 'good works:' to which Moses [a] and Christ [b], the Prophets [c], and Apostles [d], do sufficiently bear witness [1].

But it seems these men have very good intelligence, that when I looked over these Canons [2] (which I protest I did alone by myself, and then sent them to my Ld. the Bp. of London, for him to do the like), can yet tell, that 'here Ross gave his judgment, and would have the Canon go absolutely, and that this being according to Canterbury's mind, so it went.' Where yet I shall humbly crave leave to observe two things. The one is, that if this be true, 'that Ross would have these things out,' then 'one of their own prelates,' and he trusted from the rest, was the cause of this omission: and so Canterbury was neither 'master of the work,' nor were all things in it 'done by him, and no other;' as is before affirmed in the beginning of the second 'novation [e].' The other thing is, the omission itself: of which I (28) shall say two things. The one is, that if Ross did give that reason, That it was fit that Canon should command the preaching of good works in general, 'because it was a time of such profaneness,' as is mentioned in the beginning of the Canon; I for my part cannot but approve it. The other is, that the leaving out of that known saying of St. Bernard's, I humbly conceive is no fault, either in myself or any other. For though the speech be good, and though the sayings of private men, eminent in their times, were sometimes put into the Canons of national Churches, yet usually it was not so [3]. And since themselves confess, 'the words of the Canon, as it now is, are fair,' were

[1] ['since God . . . witness.' on opposite page, and also the references in notes [a] to [d].]

[2] ['Canons' in margin.]

[3] ['and . . . so.' in margin. Originally written thus, and erased: 'yet it is not usual to put the sayings of private men, how eminent soever in their time, into the Canons of any national Church. And this, I confess, wrought most with me for the leaving of it out.']

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[a] Deut. x. 12.

[b] Matt. vii. 19, and xxii. 37, and vi. 16. [Sancroft observes that this last quotation is not to the purpose.]

[c] Esai. i. 19, 20.

[d] Ephes. ii. 10, and 1 Tim. vi. 18, and Titus ii. 7, 14, and iii. 1, 8, 14. S. James ii. 17, and 1 S. Pet. ii. 12. S. Jo. Apoc. iii. 2, and xxi. 27, and xxii. 12.

[e] Page 21 [of original MS. See above, p. 316.]

any charity in them, they would not make so foul an interpretation of other men's 'intentions.'

7. *By comparing Canon* ix. *cap.* xviii. *as it was sent in writing from our prelates, and as it is printed at Canterbury's command, may be also manifest, that he went about to establish auricular confession and Popish absolution.*

I have showed before that this Book of Canons was not
107 printed by my command. But I have a long time found sad experience, that whatsoever some men disliked was presently my doing. God forgive them. But to the present charge I shall answer nothing; but only transcribe that Canon, and leave it to the judgment of all orthodox and moderate Christians, whether I have therein gone about to establish 'auricular confession' and 'Popish absolution.' The Canon is as follows:—

"Albeit Sacramental Confession and Absolution have been in some places very much abused, yet if any of the people be grieved in mind for any delict or offence committed, and for the unburdening of his conscience, confess the same to the bishop or presbyter; they shall, as they are bound, minister to the person so confessing all spiritual consolations out of the word of God; and shall not deny him the benefit of absolution, after the manner which is prescribed in the Visitation of the Sick[f], if the party show himself truly penitent, and humbly desire to be absolved. And he shall not make known or reveal what hath been opened to him in confession, at any time, or to any person whatsoever, except the crime be such as by the laws of the realm his own life may be called in question for concealing the same."

This is the Canon word for word; where first give me leave to observe the care that I had of the laws of the kingdom. For I believe it will hardly be found that such a clause is inserted in any Canon[1], concerning the 'seal of confession,' as is expressed in this Canon, in relation to the laws of the realm[2], from the time that confession came into solemn use,

[1] [Some words here erased.]
[2] ['and next for the matter of the Canon,' here inserted and erased.]

[f] In the Service-Book both of England and Scotland.

till our English Canon was made, *anno* 1603, with which this agrees [g]. And then for the matter of the Canon [1], if here be anything to establish 'Popish confession, or absolution,' I humbly submit it to the learned of the Reformed Churches through Christendom: all men (for aught I yet know) allowing 'confession' and 'absolution,' as most useful for the good of Christians, and condemning only the binding of all men to confess all sins, upon absolute danger of salvation. And this indeed some call *carnificinam conscientiæ*, the rack or torturing of the conscience [h]; but impose no other necessity of confessing [2] than the weight of their own sin shall lay upon them; nor no other enforcement to receive absolution, than their Christian care to ease their own conscience shall lead them unto: and in that way Calvin commends confession exceedingly; and, if you mark it, you shall find that our Saviour Christ [i], who gives the priest full power of the keys 'to bind and loose;' that is, to receive confession, and to absolve or not absolve, as he sees cause in the delinquent; yet you shall not find any command of his to enforce men to come to the priest to receive this benefit. 'Tis enough that He hath left power in the ministry of the Church to give penitent [3] Christians this ease, safety, and comfort, if they will receive it when they need. If they need, and will not come; or if they need, and will not believe they do so, let them bear their own burden [4]. But yet they have not done with 'our prelates;' one charge more comes.

8. *Our prelates were not acquainted with Canons for inflicting of arbitrary penalties: but in Canterbury's book, wheresoever there is no penalty expressly set down, it is provided that it shall be arbitrary, as the Ordinary shall think fittest. By these and many other like* [k] *it is appa-* 108

[1] ['where first give me leave to observe . . . Canon,' on opposite page.]
[2] ['them upon men.']
[3] ['penitent' in margin.]
[4] ['nor no other enforcement. . . . burden.' on opposite page. The passage originally ran: 'And their Christian care to ease their conscience leads them unto, according to the remed. (*sic*) (The priest in this case having the power of binding and loosing given him by Christ) and he commends the use of confession exceedingly. But yet']

[g] Can. cxiii.
[h] B. Rhenanus, Argumento in lib. Tertul. de Pœniten. p. 471. [p. 374 in marg. apud Tert. Op. Paris. 1580.]
[i] [Sancroft here notes, *ἀνακόλουθον*.]
[k] 'the like,' Rushw. and Pryn.

rent what tyrannical power he went about to establish in the hands of our prelates over the worship of God, and the souls and goods of men, overturning from the foundation the whole order of our Kirk[l]*; and how large an entry he did make for the grossest novations* (29) *afterward; which hath been a main cause of this combustion.*

This is the last shot against these Canons, and me for them: and I conceive this is no great thing. For 'arbitrary government' is one thing: and 'tis quite another, that 'whersoever there is no penalty expressly set down, it is provided, that it shall be arbitrary, as the Ordinary shall think fittest,' which are the words of the Canon. For since no law can meet with all particulars, some things must of necessity be left 'arbitrary' in all government, though that be perfectest and happiest that leaves least. Nor is it an unheard-of thing to find something arbitrary in some Canons of the Church, which are very ancient. As in the Council of Eliberis[m] the punishment of him who was absent from the church three Sundays, was, 'that he should be *abstentus*, and barred from the church for some small time; that his negligence in the service of God may seem to be punished.' But this 'small time' being not limited, is left to 'arbitrary discretion.' So likewise in the Council of Valence, *an.* 374[n], the giving of the Sacrament to such as had vowed virginity, and did afterwards marry, 'was to be deferred, as the priest saw reason and cause for it;' and that sure is 'arbitrary.' The like we find in the third Council of Carthage[o]; where the time of penance, according to the quality of the sin, 'is left to the discretion of the bishop.' And these Councils were all within the fourth century. By all which it is apparent, that in Church as well as in State, some things may be left 'arbitrary;' and have been in better and wiser times than these of ours. Nay, 'tis

[l] 'What seeds of Popery he did sow in our Kirk;' Pryn. and Rushw.

[m] ["Si quis in civitate positus, tres dominicas ad ecclesiam non accesserit,] pauco tempore abstineat, ut correptus esse videatur."—Conc. Elib. Can. xxi. [Conc. tom. i. col. 973. B.]

[n] ["De puellis vero quæ se Deo devoverunt, si ad terrenas nuptias sponte transierint, id custodiendum esse decrevimus, ut pœnitentia his nec statim detur, et cum data fuerit, nisi plene satisfecerint Deo,] in quantum ratio poposcerit [earundem communio differatur."]—Conc. Valentin. Can. ii. [Conc. tom. ii. col. 905. B. C.]

[o] "Ut pœnitentibus secundum peccatorum differentiam Episcopi arbitrio pœnitentiæ tempora decernantur."—Conc. Carthag. III. Can. xxxi. [Conc. tom. ii. col. 1171. D.]

confessed by one[p] that writes almost as well as Junius Brutus[q], that 'there is an arbitrary power in every state,' somewhere, and that no inconvenience follows upon it. And the Council of Ancyra[r], inflicting censures upon presbyters first, and then deacons, which had fallen in time of persecution, yet gives leave to the bishop to mitigate the penance at his discretion [1].

Again, 'tis manifest by the care taken in the preceding Canons, that here is little or nothing of moment left 'arbitrary:' and then the Ordinary will fall into an excess more dangerous to himself, than his 'arbitrary punishment' can be to him that suffers it, if he offer to 'tyrannize.' For this clause, 109 wheresoever it is inserted in canon or statute, (as it is in the statutes of very many colleges,) stands but for a proviso, that disorderly persons may not think they shall escape punishment, if they can cunningly keep off the letter of the law: and yet so that the 'arbitrary punishment' be regulated by that which is expressed in the Canons or the Statutes, for omissions or commissions of like nature.

And therefore that which is inferred upon all this charge, and the particulars in it; namely, 'That I went about to establish a tyrannical power in the hands of their prelates, either over the worship of God, or the souls and goods of men,' is utterly false, and cannot be proved to follow out of any of the premises. Not over the goods of the people; for no prelate, not invested with temporal power, can meddle with them; so that were there any canon made for that, it would be void of itself. Nor over the souls of men; for

[1] ['Nor is it an unheard-of thing (p. 333.) . . . discretion.' on opposite page.]

[p] Author of the Observations upon some of his Majesty's late Answers, p. 34. [This book was published, anonymously, by Henry Parker in 1642, and was answered by Dudley Digges, John Jones, in his 'Christus Dei,' Sir John Spelman and others.]

[q] [This refers to a book written by Hubert Languet, under the name of Stephanus Junius Brutus, entitled, "Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos, sive de Principis in populum, populique in Principem legitima Potestate," Edinb. 1579. Bayle has a Dissertation on this book at the end of his Dictionary, in which after examining the claims of other writers to its authorship, he decides in favour of Languet. Le Clerc vindicates the claims of Duplessis Mornay. The book was not printed at Edinburgh, as indicated in the title, but at Basle. See Biog. Universelle, art. LANGUET.]

[r] Conc. Ancyran. Can. i. and ii. [Εἰ μέντοι τινὲς τῶν ἐπισκόπων τούτοις συνείδειεν κάματόν τινα, ἢ ταπείνωσιν πραότητος, καὶ ἐθέλοιεν πλεῖόν τι διδόναι ἢ ἀφαιρεῖν, ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν.—Conc. Ancyr. Can. ii.—Conc. tom. i. coll. 1456. D. 1457. A.]

they are left free in all things, save to commit sin and disorder; which to repress by canons is, and hath been[1], the Church's way. Much less over the worship of God: for these Canons have laboured nothing so much, as to honour and establish that in decency and uniformity. And as for that which follows, that these 'Canons overturn from the foundation the whole order of their Kirk;' 'tis more than I believe will be proved, that they have overturned any good order in their Church, much less 'foundations:' though it may be thought by some, (and perhaps justly,) that there is so little order in their Church, and that so weakly founded, that it may be overturned with no great stress. And, 'for the large entry made for the gross novations afterwards,' you see what it is: and when you have considered the 'gross novations,' which are said to come after, I hope you will not find them very gross, nor any way fit to be alleged 'as a main cause of this combustion.' Now follows,—

ART. III.

The third, and great novation, which was the 'Book of Common Prayer, Administration of Sacraments, and other parts of Divine Service[a],' brought in without warrant from our Kirk, to be universally received as the only form of Divine Service, under the highest pains, both civil and ecclesiastical.

Now we are come to the arraignment of the Liturgy and the Book of Common Prayer; and this (they say) 'was brought in without warrant from their Kirk.' If this be true[2], it was the fault of your own prelates, and theirs only, for aught I know. For though I like the book exceeding well, and hope I shall be able to maintain anything that is in it, and wish with all my heart that it had been entertained there; yet I did ever desire[3], it might come to them with their own liking and approbation. Nay, I did ever,

[1] ['and hath been,' in marg.]
[2] ['If this be true,' in marg.]
[3] [Originally written, 'did only wish,']

[a] 'Worship,' Rushw.; 'Service,' Pryn.

upon all occasions, call upon the Scottish bishops to do nothing in this particular, but by warrant of law. And further, I professed unto them before his Majesty, that 110
though I had obeyed his commands in helping to order that book; yet since I was ignorant of the laws of that kingdom, I would have nothing at all to do with the manner of in-
(30) troducing it; but left that wholly to them, who do, or should, understand both that Church and their laws. And I am sure, they told me, they would adventure it no way but that which was legal. But they go on, and say, this book

> *Is found by our National Assembly, besides the Popish frame, and forms in Divine worship, to contain many Popish errors and ceremonies, and the seeds of manifold and gross superstitions and idolatry, and to be repugnant to the doctrine, discipline, and order of our Reformation, to the confession of faith, constitutions of General Assemblies, and Acts of Parliament establishing the true religion. That this was also Canterbury's work, we make manifest.*

This is a great charge upon the Service-book indeed; but it is in generals[1], and those only affirmed, not proved. And therefore may with the same ease, and as justly, be denied by me, as they are affirmed by them. And this is all I shall say, till they bring their proofs. And though this be no more 'Canterbury's work' than the Canons were, yet, by their good will, I shall bear the burden of all. And therefore, before they go to prove this great charge against the Service-book, they go on to 'make it manifest that this was my work[t];' and so far as it was mine, I shall ingenuously and freely acknowledge in each particular, as occasion shall be offered me. But how do they make it manifest it was my work? Why,—

1. *By the memoirs*[u] *and instructions, sent unto him by our prelates; wherein they give special account of the*

[1] ['generals,' originally, 'general only,']

[t] How far this was my work, you may see, p. 71 [of original MS. See below, pp. 168, 169 in marg.]

[u] 'Memoirs,' Rushw.; 'memories,' Pryn.

diligence they have[x] *used to do all which herein they were enjoined.*

This proof comes very short. For considering the Scottish Bishops were commanded by his Majesty to let me see, from time to time, what they did in that Service-book, they had good reason (as I conceive) to give me some 'account of their diligence' and care in that behalf; and yet this will never conclude the work to be mine. Why, but if this proof come not home, yet it will be manifest,

2. *By the approbation of the Service-book sent unto them, and of all the marginal corrections, wherein it varies from the English book; showing their desire to have some few things changed in it, which, notwithstanding, was not granted. This we find written by S. Andrews his own hand, and subscribed by him and nine other of our prelates.*

This argument is as loose as the former. For I hope, though I had had nothing at all to do with that book, yet I might have 'approved both the book itself and all the marginal (or
111 other) corrections, wherein it differs from (so it be not contrary to) the English book;' therefore my approving it will not make me the author of it. As for that which follows, 'that their prelates did desire to have some few things changed in it, which was not granted:' first you see, they say before, 'that the popish errors in that book be many;' and yet the change of a few things would serve their turn. And if 'this change were not granted,' that was not my fault, but their own; who might have changed what they pleased, whether I would or no. But they should do well to show 'this paper under S. Andrews' hand, and nine other bishops'.' For my part, as I remember it not, so I believe it not. But they hope to prove it better—

3. *By Canterbury's own letters, witnesses of his joy, when the book was ready for the press; of his prayers that God would speed the work; of his hope to see that service set up in Scotland; of his diligence in sending for the printer, and directing him to prepare a black letter, and to send it to his servants at Edinburgh for printing this*

[x] 'Had' Rushw. and Pryn.

book[y]*; of his approbation of the proofs sent from the press; of his fear of delay for*[z] *bringing this* (31) *work speedily to an end, for the great good (not of that Church, but) of the Church; of his encouraging Ross, who was intrusted with the press, to go on with*[a] *this piece of service, without fear of enemies. All which may be seen in the autographo.*

This argument is as weak as any of the former; indeed, it is nothing but a heap of *non sequiturs*. 'My letters express my joy, when the book was ready for the press:' therefore I made the book. As if I might not be glad, that a good book was ready for the press, but I must be the author of it. Next, 'I prayed that God would speed the work.' I did indeed, and heartily; but may not I humbly desire God to bless a good work, though I be not the author of it? Yea, but 'I hoped to see that service set up in Scotland.' I did indeed, and was heartily sorry when my hopes failed; and that nation will one day have more cause to be sorry for it, than I. But what then? It follows not thence, that the work was mine. Again, 'I was diligent with the printer to prepare letters and send to his servants.' I was, indeed, diligent herein; but it was at the entreaty of my brethren the Scottish bishops. And truly I could do little for them, the printer being then in England, if I would not send to him, and desire him to be diligent. Yea, but 'I approved the proofs that were sent from the press.' And there was good reason I should, if they were well done. But I hope, many a man takes care of the proofs from the press, though the work be not his.

The next they would fain have seem something; but 'tis no better than the rest. For they would prove this book was my work, because 'I feared delay; whereas, I would have a speedy end for the good of (not that Church, but) the Church.' Fear of delay is no proof that the work was mine. But do you not mark the subtlety? 'for the good of the Church, not that Church.' They would fain have some mystery hid here; but sure there is none. For if I writ any such thing, 'the Church,' and 'that Church,' were

[y] [See the Archbishop's letter to the Bishop of Ross, Sept. 19, 1635.]

[z] 'In,' Rushw. and Pryn.

[a] 'In,' Rushw. and Pryn.

the same Church of Scotland. For when a man writes to a
112 learned man of another nation, and desires anything to be done for the good of 'the Church,' he is to be understood of the good of 'that Church;' unless some circumstance sway his meaning another way, which is not here. Yea, but 'I encouraged Ross, who was intrusted with the press, to go on without fear of enemies:' therefore the work was mine. Will not young novices laugh at this logic? Well, they say, 'all this appears in the autographo.' Let them show the autographon: and if all this be there, then you see all is nothing; they have showed but their weakness to collect so poorly[1]: and if it be not there, then they have showed their falsehood, with which some of them are too well acquainted. But prove it good or bad, another proof they have; and that is,

4. *By letters sent from the Prelate of London,* [*to Ross*[b];] *wherein, as he rejoiceth at the sight of the Scottish Canons, which although they should make some noise in the beginning, yet they would be more for the good of the Kirk, than the Canons of Edinburgh for the good of the kingdom. So concerning the Liturgy, he showeth that Ross had sent to him, to have from Canterbury an explanation of some passages of the Service-book, and that the press behoved to stand, till the explanations came to Edinburgh; which, therefore, he had in haste obtained from his Grace, and sent the despatch by Cant. his own conveyance.*

This argument is much ado about nothing; in which, notwithstanding, I shall observe some passages, and then come to the force of the argument, such as it is. And first, though the business of the Canons be over, yet a merriment in the Bp. of London's letter must be brought in. Secondly, though by this letter of the Prelate of London, it be manifest he had to do with those Canons as well as I; and though he passed as full and as honourable a censure upon them as I do in any letter of mine; yet, against their knowledge and their conscience, they avouch peremptorily before[c], 'that

[1] ['they . . . poorly,' in marg.]

[b] '[To Ross]' are added from Pryn and Rushw.

[c] P. 22 [of orig. MS. See above, p. 319.]

this was done by Canterbury and no other;' and all this, to heap all the envy they (32) could upon me alone. Thirdly, here's the same phrase used by my L. of London, that was used a little before by me; namely, that 'these Canons would be for the good of the Kirk.' And yet here's never a wise observation upon it, as was upon me, 'that they would be for the good (not of that Church, but) of the Church.'

Now for the force of Mr. Henderson's logic (for these arguments out of doubt are his): 'Ross writ to the Prelate of London, to have from Canterbury an explanation of some passages of the Service-book, because the press stayed; and he obtained them; therefore this book was Canterbury's work, as is before asserted [d].' Certainly, if Mr. Henderson had any learning in him, he would be ashamed of this stuff. Ross sent to me for the explanation of some things, which perhaps were my additions or alterations in that book; and used the Prelate of London for his means, and the press stayed, and I know not what. As if any of this could make me author of that book; which yet if I were, I would neither deny nor be ashamed of. Howsoever, he should do well to let Canterbury alone, and answer the learned divines of Aberdeen [e]; who have laid him and all that faction [1] open enough to the 113
Christian world, to make the memory of them and their cause stink to all posterity.

5. *But* (say they) *the book itself, as it standeth interlined, margined, and patched up, is much more than all that is expressed in his letters; and the changes and supplements themselves, taken from the Mass-book and other Romish rituals, by which he makes it to vary from the Book of England, are more pregnant testimonies of his popish spirit and wicked intentions, which he would have put in execution upon us, than can be denied.*

In the next place, the book itself is brought in evidence; and that's a greater evidence 'than all that is expressed in my

[1] ['faction' in marg.]

[d] P. 30 [of orig. MS. See above, p. 336.]

[e] [See the 'General Demands concerning the late Covenant propounded by the Ministers and Professors of Divinity in Aberdene, 1638.' The Aberdeen divines were Dr. Forbes, Dr. Scrogie, Dr. Lesley, Dr. Baron, and Dr. Ross.]

letters.' A greater evidence! But of what? Not that the book was of my sole making, which they have hitherto gone about to prove, and which the former part of this argument would seem to make good. But now, these 'interlinings,' and 'margins,' and 'changes,' and 'supplements,' 'are pregnant proofs of my popish spirit and wicked intentions.' First, I praise God for it, I have no popish spirit; and God bless me, as (to the utmost of my knowledge) I had no wicked intentions in anything which I did in, or about, that Service-book.

For the other stuff which fills up this argument, that these 'changes and supplements are taken from the Mass-book, and other Romish rituals, and that by these the book is made to vary from the Book of England;' I cannot hold it worth an answer, till I see some particulars named. For in this I could retort many things, could I think it fit to put in [1] but half so much gall into my ink as hath made theirs black [2]. In the meantime, I would have them remember that we live in a Church reformed, not in one made new. Now all reformation that is good and orderly takes away nothing from the old, but that which is faulty and erroneous. If anything be good, it leaves that standing. So that if these changes from the Book of England be good, 'tis no matter whence they be taken. For every line in the Mass-book, or other popish rituals, are not all evil and corruptions. There are many good prayers in them; nor is anything evil in them, only because 'tis there. Nay, the less alteration is made in the public ancient service of the Church, the better it is, provided that nothing superstitious or evil in itself be admitted or retained. And this is enough, till I see particulars charged: yet with this; that these variations were taken, either from the first Book of Edw. VI., which was not popery; or from some ancient Liturgies which savoured not of popery [3].

The Large Declaration professeth, that all[f] *variation of our Book from the Book of England, that ever the King*

[1] ['in' in marg.]
[2] ['made theirs black.' in marg. Originally, 'thickened theirs.']
[3] ['yet with this . . . popery.' on opposite page.]

[f] 'all the' Rushw. and Pryn.

understood, was in such things as the Scottish humours would better comply with, than with that which stood in the English Service[g].

That which the 'Large Declaration professeth,' I leave the author of it to make good. Yet whosoever was the author[h], thus much I can say, and truly, that the Scottish bishops (some of them) did often say to me, that the people would 114
be better satisfied by much to have a (33) Liturgy composed by their own bishops, (as this was,) than to have the Service-book of England put upon them. But to what end is this added out of the Large Declaration? Why, 'tis to cast more hatred upon me. For thus they infer:—

These popish innovations, therefore, have been surreptitiously inserted by him, without the King's knowledge, and against his purpose.

This is as false as 'tis bold; for let them prove that any one[1] particular, be it the least, was so added by me to that book; and let no justice spare me. In the meantime, here I take it upon my salvation[i], that 'I inserted nothing without his Majesty's knowledge,' nor anything 'against his purpose.'

Our Scottish prelates do petition, that somewhat may be abated of the English ceremonies; as the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, and some other things. But Canterbury will not only have those kept, but a great many more, and worse, superadded; which was nothing else but the adding of fuel unto the fire[k].

I cannot remember that ever any such petition was showed to me. This I remember well, that when a deliberation was held, whether it were better to keep close to the English Liturgy, or venture upon some additions; some of your Scottish bishops were very earnest to have some alterations,

[1] ['that any one' originally, 'that there is but one']

[g] [See "A Large Declaration concerning the late Tumults in Scotland, by the King," p. 18.]

[h] [The Book was written by Dr. Balcanqual, Dean of Durham, in the King's name.]

[i] [Abp. Sancroft notes this expression, as if objectionable.]

[k] Here Rushworth's copy addeth, 'To express and discover all would require a whole book. We shall only touch some few in the matter of the Communion.' So also Pryn.

and some additions. And they gave this for their reason, because if they did not then make that book as perfect as they could, they should never be able to get it perfected after. Canterbury, therefore, was not the man that 'added this fuel to your fire.' And whereas, to heap on further hatred, it is said, that 'I did not only add more, but worse ceremonies,' I can say nothing to that, because I know no one ceremony in the one book or the other that is bad. And when they give an instance in the ceremonies, which they say are worse in their book than in ours, I shall give such answer as is fitting, and such as I doubt not shall be sufficient. And now, it seems, they'll come to particulars; for they say:—

1. *This book inverteth the order of the Communion in the Book of England, as may be seen by the numbers setting down the order of this new Communion,* 1, 5, 2, 6, 7, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11[1]. *Of the divers secret reasons of this change, we mention one only, enjoining the spiritual sacrifice*[m] *and thanksgiving, which is in the Book of England pertinently after the Communion, with the prayer of consecration, before the Communion, and that under the name of memorial, or oblation; for no other end but that the memorial and sacrifice of praise mentioned in it may be understood according to the popish meaning,*
115 (Bellarm. de Missa, l. ii. c. 21[n],) *not of the spiritual sacrifice, but of the oblation of the body of the Lord.*

'This book' (they say) 'inverts the order of the Communion in the Book of England.' Well, and what then? To invert

[1] [The service in our own office is arranged as follows:—

1. To the end of Prefaces.	(1)
2. Prayer of humble access.	(5)
3. Consecration.	(2)
4. Bread.	(6)
5. Cup.	(7)
6. Lord's Prayer.	(4)
7. Oblation.	(3)
8. Thanksgiving.	(8)
9. Gloria.	(9)
10. Blessing.	(10)
11. Collects.	(11)

The figures in parentheses mark the order in the Scotch Service-book, and with one exception, (the transposition of 3 and 4,) agree with those in the text.]

[m] 'Praise,' Rushw. and Pryn.

[n] ["Falsum est, per sacrificium laudis, cujus in Canone fit mentio, debere accipi sacrificium spirituale, quod in laude et gratiarum actione consistit; significatur enim ea voce sacrificium veri corporis Domini, quod sacrificium laudis dicitur, quia per illud Deus magnopere laudatur, et gratiæ illi aguntur pro summis ejus in nos beneficiis."—Bell. de Missa, lib. ii. cap. xxi. § 'Deinde falsa,' Op., tom. iii. p. 237. E.]

the order of some prayers, in the Communion, or any other part of the service, doth neither pervert the prayers, nor corrupt the worship of God. For I hope they are not yet grown to be such superstitious cabalists as to think that numbers work anything. For so the prayers be all good (as 'tis most manifest these are), it cannot make them ill to be read in 5, 7, or 3 place, or the like; unless it be in such prayers only, where the order is essential to the service then in hand; as, for example, to read the Absolution first, and the Confession after; and in the Communion, to give the Sacrament to the people first, and read the Prayer of Consecration after. In these cases, to invert the order, is to pervert the service; but in all other ordinary prayers, which have not such a necessary dependance upon order, first, second, or third works no great effect. And though I shall not find fault with the order of the prayers, as they stand in the Communion-book of England, (for, God be thanked, 'tis well;) yet, if a comparison must be made, I do think the order of the prayers, as now they stand in the Scottish Liturgy, to be the better, and more agreeable to use in the primitive Church; and I believe, they which are learned will acknowledge it. And therefore these men do bewray a great deal of will and weakness, to call this a new Communion, only be-
(34) cause all the prayers stand not in the same order.

But they say, 'there are divers secret reasons of this change' in the order. Surely there was reason for it, else why a change? But that there was any hidden secret reason for it, (more than that the Scottish prelates thought fit that book should differ in some things from ours in England; and yet that no differences could be[1] more safe than those which were in the order of the prayers; especially since both they and we were of opinion, that of the two this order came nearest to the primitive Church;) truly I neither know nor believe[2].

As for the only reason given of this change, 'tis in my judgment a strange one. 'Tis, forsooth, 'for no other end,' they say, 'but that the memorial and sacrifice of praise mentioned in it may be understood according to the popish

[1] ['that no . . . be' orig. 'that the differences could not be']
[2] ['neither know nor believe.' in marg.]

meaning, not of the spiritual sacrifice, but of the oblation of the body of the Lord.' Now ignorance and jealousy, whither will you?[1] For 'the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,' no man doubts but that is to be offered up; nor doth any man of learning question it, that I know, but that according to our Saviour's own command, we are to do whatsoever is done in this office, 'as a memorial of his body and blood offered up and shed for us.'—S. Luc. xxii.[o] Now, 'tis one thing to offer up his body, and another to offer up the memorial of his body, with our praise and thanks for that infinite blessing; so that were that change of order made for this end, (which is more than I know,) I do not yet see how any popish
116 meaning, so much feared, can be fastened upon it. And the words in that prayer are plain, (as they are also in the Book of England,) that 'we offer and present unto God, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Him.' What is there here that can be drawn to a popish meaning, unless it be with the cords of these men's vanity? Yet thus much we have gained from them, that 'this prayer comes in the Book of England pertinently after the Communion.' Any approbation is well of that 'anti-christian Service-book' (as 'tis often called)[2]; and I verily believe, we should not have gained this testimony of them for it, but only that they are content to approve that, to make the greater hatred against their own. Next they tell us:—

2. *It seems to be no great matter, that without warrant of the Book of England, the presbyter going from the north end of the table, shall stand during the time of consecration at such a part of the table where he may with the more ease and decency use both his hands; yet being tried, it importeth much: as that he must stand with his hinder parts to the people; representing (saith Durand) that which the Lord said to Moses, 'Thou shalt see my hinder parts*[p].'

Truly, this charge is, it seems, 'no great matter.' And yet here again they are[3] offended that this is done 'without

[1] [Here inserted, and erased, 'How can *sacrificium laudis* be *oblatio corporis?*'] [2] ['as 'tis often called,' in marg.] [3] ['are,' orig. 'seem.']

[o] S. Lu. xxii. 19.

[p] [See Durandi Rationale, lib. iv. cap. xi. § 2, p. 107. Lugd. 1672.]

warrant of the Book of England.' How comes this Book of England [1] to be so much in their esteem, that nothing must be done without warrant from it? Why, 'tis not that they approve that book, for they will none of that neither; but 'tis only to make their complaint more acceptable in England.

Yet they say, 'this very remove of the presbyter during the time of consecration, upon trial imports much.' The rubric professes, that nothing is meant by it, but 'that he may use both his hands with more ease and decency about that work.' And I protest in the presence of Almighty God [q], I know of no other intention herein than this. But these men can tell more. They are sure it is, 'that he may turn his hinder parts to the people, representing that which the Lord said to Moses.' And what warrant have they for this? Why Durand says so. Now truly the more fool he. And they shall do well to ask their own bishops, what acquaintance they have with Durand. For as for myself, I was so poorly satisfied with the first leaf I read in him, that I never meddled with him since. Nor, indeed, do I spend any time in such authors as he is. So I have nothing to do with this. Yea, but (35) they find fault with the reason given in the rubric. For they say:—

He must have the use of both his hands, not for anything he hath to do about the bread and the wine; (for that may [r] *be done at the north end of the table, and be better seen of the people;) but (as we are taught by the Rationalists* [s]*) that he may, by stretching out* [t] *his arms, represent the extension of Christ on the cross* [u].

But the reason given in the rubric doth not satisfy them; for they say plainly, 'they have no use of both their hands for anything that is to be done about the bread and the wine.' 117
Surely these men consecrate their elements in a very loose and mean way, if they can say truly, 'that they have not use

[1] ['of England' in marg.]

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[q] [Abp. Sancroft marks this expression also, as probably considering it too solemn.]

[r] 'Must,' Rushw.

[s] [Admirers of Durand's Rationale.]

[t] 'Forth,' Rushw. and Pryn.

[u] [See Durandi Rationale, lib. iv. cap. xliii. § 3, p. 176.]

of both their hands' in this work. Or, that whatsoever is done 'may as well be done at the north end of the table;' which in most places is too narrow, and wants room, to lay the Service-book open before him that officiates, and to place the bread and wine within his reach. So that in that place 'tis hard for the presbyter to avoid the unseemly disordering of something or other that is before him, perhaps the very elements themselves; which may give scandal to them which come to communicate: especially since, in the margin of the Prayer of Consecration, he is ordered to lay his hand upon the bread and the wine which he consecrates[1]. As for 'his being better seen of the people,' that varies according to the nature of the place, and the position of the table; so that in some places he may be better seen, and in some not. Though I am not of opinion, that it is any end of the administration of the Sacrament 'to have the priest better seen of the people.'

Thus much against the reason[x] given in the rubric. Next, they produce other reasons of this position of his at the holy table. And first, they say, 'tis not for the more convenient use of both his hands in the celebration of that work; but it is, (say they,) 'that he may, by stretching out his arms, represent the extension of Christ on the cross.' Why, but I say not this; nor is there any such thing ordered or required in the book; nor doth any English divine practise this that I know. Why then is this charged upon me? Nor is it sufficient for them to say, 'they are taught thus by the Rationalists;' unless I did affirm, or practise, as those Rationalists do. Here's a great deal of charity wanting. But they bring another reason as good as this is; and that is—

That he may the more conveniently lift up the bread and wine over[y] *his head, to be seen and adored of the people; who, in the Rubric of General Confession a little before, are directed to kneel humbly on their knees, that the priest's elevation, so magnified in the Mass, and the people's adoration may go together.*

[1] ['or other that is . . . consecrates.' on opposite page.]

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[x] Viz. their argument taken from the reason of the posture of the priest, given in the rubric.—H. W.

[y] 'above' Rushw. and Pryn.

Good God! whither tends this malice? There is not a word in the book of this neither: not of 'lifting the bread and wine over his head;' much less is there anything, 'to have it adored by the people.' And as there is nothing in the book, so nothing hath ever been said or done by me, that tends this way. Now, if none of this hath been said or done by me, what means this? Sure they mean to charge the Rationalists with this, and not me; unless I did by word or deed approve them herein[1]. Yea, but 'a little before, in the Rubric of General Confession, the people are directed to kneel humbly on their knees.' That's true. And what posture so fit, as that which is humble, when men are making confession of their sins to God? But that which follows, namely, 'that the priest's elevation and the people's adoration may go together,' is utterly false. There is not one word of it in the rubric, nor ever was there one thought of 118
it in myself, or (as I verily believe) in any of the compilers of that book. And 'tis well known, that through the whole Church of England, the form is to receive the blessed Sacrament kneeling; and yet without any 'adoration' at all 'of the bread and wine.' So this charge, which way soever it look, cannot hit me. Howsoever, God forgive this malice. For are 'the people directed to kneel, to the end the priest's elevation and the people's adoration may go together?' Why then so let them go: for the priest with us makes no elevation, nor therefore the people any adoration, of those elements. But there is yet more behind: for they say—

> *That in this posture, speaking with a low voice, and muttering, (for at some times he is commanded to speak with a loud* (36) *voice, and distinctly,) he be not heard by the people; which is no less a mocking of God and his people, than if the words were spoken in an unknown language.*

This again, by my accusers' good leave, is utterly false. For there is no rubric in the whole book, that commands the priest to use a muttering or low voice. This, therefore,

[1] ['herein.' in marg.]

is drawn in only by consequence, and that an ill one. As if, because he is sometimes commanded to speak aloud, he were thereby enjoined, in other parts of the service, to speak with a low voice; which is not so. In the Book of England, in some places the minister is directed, before he begins the prayer, to say, 'Let us pray;' which is but to keep their attention waking, and to put them in mind what they are doing, or ought to do. And shall any man infer upon this, 'Let us pray;' therefore they were not at prayer before? So here, if in some principal part of the service there be a caveat given, that 'the Presbyter shall speak with a loud voice, and distinctly,' (I say 'if,' for I do not yet find the rubric where it is,) it implies, that he be very careful in that place, that his voice be audible and distinct; but it imports not, that therefore in other parts of the service it may be low, or confused, or unheard. And yet, if such a consequence were to be drawn; 'tis no new thing in the Church of Christ, that the minister did pray sometimes in the public assembly, in a very low voice, if at all audible. For it was ordered in the Council of Laodicea[2], that among the prayers which were made by the faithful, after the hearers and the penitents were gone out, that 'the first should be in silence:' perhaps for the presbyter to commend himself, and his office, which he was then to execute, privately to God. But, howsoever, in the public service, that all should be public, I rather approve[1].

As for that which follows, 'That to utter the common service of the Church in a low voice, not heard by the people, is no less a mocking of God and His people, than if the words were spoken in an unknown tongue:' this were well charged, if any man did command, that the public service should be read in so low a voice, that the people might not hear it. But since no man, that I know, approves it, and since there is nothing in the book that requires it, I know not to what

[1] ['And yet, . . . approve.' partly interlined and partly on opposite page.]

[2] [Καὶ τούτων προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα, καὶ ὑπυχωρησάντων, οὕτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τρεῖς· μίαν μὲν τὴν πρώτην διὰ σιωπῆς, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην διὰ προσφωνήσεως πληροῦσθαι.] Conc. Laodicen. Can. xviii. [Conc. tom. i. col. 1500. C.]

end 'tis urged here. And yet this by their leave too; were 119
prayers read in so low a voice, 'it were a mocking of the people,' I confess, to call them to Church, and not let them hear. But, how either prayer in a low voice, or an unknown tongue, to the people[1], should be a mocking of God, I cannot conceive; unless these men think (as Elias put it upon the prophets of Baal) that 'their God is talking, or journeying, or perhaps sleeping, and must be awaked before he can hear;' or, that any tongue unknown to the people is unknown to God also. But this I presume they will not dare to say, if it be but for that of St. Paul: 'He that speaks in the church in an unknown tongue, speaks not unto men, for they understand him not;' yet 'he speaks to God,' and doubtless doth not mock Him; for 'he edifies himself, and in the spirit speaks mysteries;' neither of which can stand with the 'mocking of God.' Now say they—

> *As there is no word of all this in the English Service, so doth the Book in K. Edw. time give to every presbyter his liberty of gesture; which yet gave such offence to Bucer, (the censurer of the book, and, even in Cassander his own judgment, a man of great moderation in matters of this kind,) that he calleth them,* nunquam-satis-execrandos Missæ gestus [a]; *and would have them to be abhorred, because they confirm to the simple and superstitious*[2], ter-impiam et exitialem Missæ fiduciam [b].

As there is no word of all this in the English Service, so neither is there, in the Book for Scotland, more, or other, or to other purpose, than I have above expressed. For the Book under Edward VI., at the end of it, there are some 'rules concerning ceremonies [c];' and it doth give liberty of gesture to every presbyter. But it is only of some gestures, such as are there named, and similes, not of 'all.' But if any will extend it unto 'all,' then I humbly desire it may

[1] ['either . . . people,' in marg. Originally 'it.']
[2] ['and superstitious,' in marg.]

[a] [Mart. Buceri Cens. de Ordinat. Eccl. cap. v. apud Script. Anglican. p. 465. Basil. 1577.]
[b] [Ibid.]
[c] An. 1549. Citantur a Bucero in Script. Anglican. p. 455.

be piously and prudently considered, whether this confusion, which will follow upon every presbyter's liberty and choice, be not like to prove worse than any rule that is given in either book for decent uniformity.

And yet (say they) 'these gestures,' for all this liberty given, 'gave such offence to Bucer, the censurer of the book, that he calls them *nunquam-(37)satis-execrandos Missæ gestus,*' the never sufficiently execrable gestures of the Mass. First, 'tis true, Bucer did make some observations upon that Common-Prayer-Book under Edw. VI. And he did it at the entreaty of Archbishop Cranmer. And after he had made such observations upon it as he thought fit, he writ thus to the Archbishop [d]:—'Being mindful how much I owe to your most reverend Fatherhood and the English Churches, that which is given [me] to see and discern in this business, I will subscribe: this done, your most reverend Fatherhood, and the rest of your order' (that is, the rest of the bishops,) 'may judge of what I write [e].' Where we see, both the care of Bucer to do what was required of him, and his Christian humility, to leave what he had done to the judg-
120 ment of the then governors of this Church. By which it appears, that he gave his judgment upon 'that book,' not as being the 'censurer' of it, (as these men call him,) but as delivering up his animadversions upon it to that authority which required it of him. Much less was it such a 'censure' as must bind all other men to his judgment, which he very modestly submits to the Church. Howsoever [1], this hath been the common error (as I humbly conceive) of the English

[1] ['And he did . . . Howsoever,' in opposite page. The original passage, now erased, ran thus, 'But whether he did it voluntarily, or by appointment of the State and Church, I know not. If he did it voluntarily, that which he says, if it is but his private judgment, we may value it somewhat the less. But if he did it as being put in trust by authority, we may then fairly think he gave his judgment as required, but not as being the censure of that book, which was made by as pious and as learned men as himself; nor as such a censure as must bind all other men to his judgment.']

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[d] [Abp. Sancroft objects to the translation of this and the immediately preceding passage from Bucer.]

[e] "Memor ergo quid reverendissimæ paternitati tuæ, et Ecclesiis Anglicanis cum primis debeam, quod datum est mihi hac in re videre, id studeam subscribere. Reverendissima paternitas tua, aliique tui ordinis de his judicabunt."—Buceri Epist. ad Archiepisc. quæ extat inter Opera ejus Angl. p. 456. [ad init. Censuræ in Ordinat. Eccles.]

nation, to entertain and value strangers in all professions of learning beyond their desert, and to the contempt, or passing by[1] at least, of men of equal worth of their own nation; which I have observed, ever since I was of ability to judge of these things.

But be this as it may. These men have notoriously corrupted Bucer. For they say, 'he calls them *nunquam-satis-execrandos Missæ gestus,*' referring the execration to the ceremonial gestures. But Bucer's words are, '*nunquam-satis-execrandæ Missæ gestus,*' referring to the execration of the Mass itself, not to the gestures in it, of bowing the knee, or beating the breast, or the like, which in themselves (and undoubtedly in Bucer's judgment also[f]) are far enough from being execrable.

As for that which follows, (and which are Bucer's words indeed,) that 'these gestures, or any other which confirm to the simple *ter impiam et exitialem Missæ fiduciam*' (as he there calls it), 'the thrice impious and deadly confidence of the Mass, are to be abhorred,' there's no doubt to be made of that; unless (as Cassander[g] infers well out of Luther and Bucer both[h][2]) 'they be such ceremonies as impeach not the free justification of a sinner by faith in Christ, and that the people may be well instructed concerning the true use of them.' Now all this, at the most, is but Bucer's speech against such ceremonies (and in such time and place, must be understood too) as are apt 'to confirm the simple people in their opinions of the Mass.' But such ceremonies are neither maintained by me, nor are any such ordered or established in that book. Therefore this charge falls away quite

[1] ['by,' originally written 'over']
[2] ['out . . . both,' added in marg.]

[f] In Scrip Anglicanis, p. 465. [See above, note [a].]

[g] ["Quid enim, annon Lutherus et Bucerus, ut cæteros omittam, sæpe et aperte proclamant, se non detractaturos, cur minus cæremonias plerasque omnes, et traditiones, in Ecclesia Romana publice receptas communiter observent, his modo adjectis conditionibus, si doctrina Evangelii de justificatione gratuita per fidem in Christum non impediatur nec in illis cæremoniis salus et justitia constituatur; nec ut præcepta divina, capitalis peccati pœna proposita, exigantur, et de vero illorum usu populus doceatur."]—In Defensione Libelli de Officio pii Viri, [Op.,] p. 867. [Paris. 1616.]

[h] [The particular passages of Luther and Bucer referred to, are quoted by Cassander in the margin of the page above quoted.]

from me, and Bucer must make his own speeches good. For my own part, I am in this point of ceremonies of the same mind with Cassander (that man 'of great moderation in matters of this kind,' as my accusers here call him): and he says plainly a little after, in the same place, concerning Luther's and Bucer's judgment in these things, *Quanquam est, quod in istis viris desiderem*[i]; though I approve them in many things, yet 'there is somewhat which I want[k] in these men.' But the charge goes on:—

3. *The corporal*[l] *presence of Christ's body in the Sacrament, is also to be found here. For the words of the Mass-book, serving to that purpose, are*[m] *sharply censured by Bucer in King Edward's Liturgy, and are not to be found in the Book of England, are taken in here. Almighty God is in-called, that of His Almighty goodness he may vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with His word and His Spirit these gifts of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Christ. The change here, is made a work of God's omnipotency. The words of the Mass,* ut fiant nobis, *are translated in King Edwd's Book, 'that they may be unto us;' which is*[n] *again turned into Latin by Messius*[1], ut fiant nobis[o].

121 They say, 'the corporal presence of Christ's body[2] in the Sacrament, is to be found in this Service-book.' But they must pardon me; I know it is not there. I cannot be myself of a contrary judgment, and yet suffer that to pass. But let's see their proof. 'The words of the Mass-book, serving to that purpose, which are sharply censured by Bucer in King Edwd's Liturgy, and are not to be found in the Book of England, yet are taken into this Service-book.' I know no words tending to this purpose in King Edwd's

[1] ['Messius,' in marg. 'Alesius,' in Wharton's hand.]
[2] ['of Christ's body' in marg.]

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[i] Cassand. ibid. [p. 868.]
[k] 'is wanting'
[l] 'corporeal' Rushw.
[m] ['which are' Prynne.]
[n] 'are' Rush. and Pryn.
[o] [This version of the English Prayer-book by Alexander Ales was published in 1551, under the following title, 'Ordinatio Ecclesiæ, seu Ministerii Ecclesiastici in florentissimo Regno Angliæ, conscripta sermone patrio, et in Latinam linguam bona fide conversa .... ab Alexandro Alesio Scoto, Sacræ Theologiæ doctore. Lipsiæ 1551.']

Liturgy, fit for Bucer to censure sharply; and therefore not tending to that purpose: for did they tend to that, they could not be censured too sharply. The words, it seems, are these: (38) 'O merciful Father, of Thy Almighty goodness, vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with Thy word and Holy Spirit, these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son [p]. Well, if these be the words, how will they squeeze corporal presence out of them? Why, first 'the change here, is made a work of God's omnipotency.' Well, and a work of omnipotency it is, whatever the change be. For less than Omnipotence cannot change those elements, either in nature, or use, to so high a service as they are put in that great Sacrament. And therefore the invocating of God's Almighty goodness to effect this by them, is no proof at all of intending the 'corporal presence of Christ in this Sacrament.' 'Tis true, this passage is not in the Prayer of Consecration in [1] the Service-book of England; but I wish with all my heart it were. For though the consecration of the elements may be without it, yet it is much more solemn and full by that invocation.

Secondly, 'these words,' they say, 'intend the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament, because the words in the Mass are, *ut fiant nobis* [q], 'that they may be unto us the Body and the Blood of Christ.' Now for the good of Christendom, I would with all my heart, that these words [2], *ut fiant nobis*, — that these elements might be, 'to us,' worthy receivers, the blessed Body and Blood of our Saviour,—were the worst error in the Mass. For then I would hope, that this great controversy, which to all men that are out of the Church, is the shame, and among all that are within the Church, is the division of Christendom, might have some good accommodation. For if it be only, *ut fiant nobis*, that they may be to us, the Body and the Blood of Christ; it implies clearly, that they 'are to us,' but are not transub-

[1] ['the Prayer . . . in' in marg.]
[2] ['that these words,' in marg.]

[p] In the Prayer of Consecration in the Liturgy for Scotland.

[q] The words in the Canon of the Mass are, 'Ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiant dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi.'

stantiated in themselves, into the Body and Blood of Christ, nor that there is any corporal presence, in, or under the elements. And then nothing can more cross the doctrine of the present Church of Rome, than their own service. For as the elements after the benediction, or consecration, are, and may be called, the Body and Blood of Christ, without any addition, in that real and true sense in which they are so called in Scripture; so, when they are said to become the Body and Blood of Christ, *nobis*, to us that communicate as we ought; there is by this addition, *fiant nobis*[1], an allay in the proper signification of the body and blood: and the true sense, so well signified and expressed, that the words cannot well be understood otherwise, than to imply not the corporal substance, but the real, and yet the spiritual use
122 of them[2]. And so the words, *ut fiant nobis*, import quite contrary to that which they are brought to prove. And I hope that which follows will have no better success.

On the other side, the expressions of the Book of England, at the delivery of the elements; of feeding on Christ by faith; and of eating and drinking in remembrance that Christ died for thee, are utterly deleted.

Before, they went about to prove an intendment to establish the doctrine of 'the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament,' by some positive words; and here, they go about to prove the same by the omission of some other words of the Book of England. For they say (and 'tis true), that those words are expressed in the English Liturgy, at the delivery of the elements, and are left out of the Book prepared for Scotland. But it is altogether false, either that this omission was intended to help to make good a 'corporal presence,' or that a 'corporal presence' can by any good consequence [be] proved out of it. For the first, 'of feeding on Christ by faith,' if that omission be thought to advantage anything toward a 'corporal presence;' surely, neither the 'Scottish bishops,' nor myself, were so simple to leave it out here, and keep these words in immediately after[r]: 'which

[1] ['by this . . . *nobis*,' in marg.]
[2] ['And then nothing (lin. 3) . . . them.' in opposite page.]

[r] In the Collect of Thanksgiving after the receiving.

have duly received those holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of Thy Son.' For 'the feeding on Christ by faith,' and 'the spiritual food of the Body and Blood of Christ,' are all one; and 'tis hard, that the asserting of a 'spiritual food,' should be made the proof [of] a 'corporal presence;' or, that the omitting of it in one place, should be of greater force than the affirming it in another. The like is to be said of the second omission, [s] of eating and drinking in remembrance that Christ died for us.' For that remembrance of His death and passion is expressed almost immediately before [s]. And would not this have been omitted, as well as the other, had there been an intention to forget this remembrance, and to introduce a 'corporal presence?' Besides, St. Paul himself, in the 1 Cor. xi.[t], adds this, 'in remembrance of Me;' but in the 1 Cor. x.[u], 'The cup of blessing, which we bless, is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the Body of Christ?' Which interrogation there, is a pressing affirmation; and these words, 'in remembrance of Christ,' are omitted. And what then will these my learned adversaries say, that St. Paul omitted this to establish a 'corporal presence?' I hope they will not [1].

But whatsoever this omission may be thought to work, it cannot reflect upon me. For when I shall come to set down (as I purpose, God willing, to do [x]) the brief story [2], what hand I had in this Liturgy for Scotland; it shall then appear, that I laboured to have the English Liturgy sent them, without any omission or addition at all, this or any other; that so the public Divine service might, in (39) all his Majesty's dominions, have been one and the same. But some of the Scottish Bps. prevailed herein against me; and some alterations they would have from the Book of England, and this was one, as I have to show under the then Bp. of Dunblain's hand, Dr. Wetherborne, whose notes I have yet 123 by me, concerning that alterations in the Service-book. And

[1] ['Besides, St. Paul . . . not.' in marg.]
[2] ['the brief story,' in marg.]

[s] In the Prayer of Consecration.
[t] 1 Cor. xi. 24.
[u] 1 Cor. x. 16.
[x] Page 71 [of original MS. See below, p. 427.]

concerning this particular, his words are these: "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life: and so, the Blood of, &c.: whereunto every receiver answered, Amen. There is no more in King Edw. VI. his first book. And if there be no more in ours, the action will be much the shorter. Besides, the words which are added since, 'Take, eat, in remembrance, &c,' may seem to relish somewhat of the Zuinglian tenet, That the Sacrament is a bare sign taken in remembrance of Christ's passion." So that for my part, first, I see no hurt in the omission of those latter words, none at all. And next, if there be any, it proceeded not from me. That which follows, is a mere flourish in the general. For they say—

> *Many evidences there be in this part of the Communion of the bodily presence of Christ, very agreeable to the doctrine taught by his sectaries*[y]*; which this paper cannot contain. They teach us, that Christ is received in the Sacrament* corporaliter, *both* objectivè *and* subjectivè. Corpus Christi est objectum, quod recipitur; at corpus nostrum est subjectum, quo recipitur.

Many weak collections and inferences are made by these men out of this part of the Communion of the bodily presence of Christ; but not one evidence is, or can be showed. As for 'sectaries,' I have none, nor none can have in this point. For no men can be 'sectaries,' or followers of me in that, which I never held or maintained. And 'tis well known, I have maintained the contrary[z], and perhaps as strongly as any my opposites, and upon grounds more agreeable to the doctrine of the primitive Church. Among these 'sectaries,' which they will needs call mine, they say 'there are, which teach them, that Christ is received in the sacrament *corporaliter*, both *objectivè* and *subjectivè*.' For this opinion, be it whose it will, I for my part do utterly condemn it, as grossly superstitious. And for the person that affirms it, they should have done well to name him, and the place where he delivers this opinion. Had this been done, it had been fair; and I would then have clearly acknowledged what

[y] 'Secretaries,' Rush.

[z] Conference with Fisher, § 35. puncto 4, p. 292, &c. [Edit. 1639; p. 327. Edit. Oxford, 1849.]

relation (if any) the person had to me; and more fully have spoken to the opinion itself, when I might have seen the full scope together, of all that he delivered. But I doubt there is some ill cause or other, why this author is not named by them. Yet the charge goes on,—

4. *The Book of England abolishes all that may import the oblation of an*[a] *unbloody sacrifice; but here we have, besides the preparatory oblation of the elements, which is neither to be found in the Book of England now, nor in King Edward's Book of old, the oblation of the body and the blood of Christ, which Bellarmin calls,* Sacrificium laudis, quia Deus per illud magnopere laudatur[b]. *This also agrees* [*well*[c]] *with their late doctrine.*

First, I think no man doubts, but that there is, and ought 124
to be offered up to God at the consecration and reception of this Sacrament, *sacrificium laudis,* the sacrifice of praise: and that this ought to be expressed in the Liturgy, for the instruction of the people. And these words, 'We entirely desire Thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise, and thanksgiving, &c.' are both in the Book of England, and in that which was prepared for Scotland. And if 'Bellarmin do call the oblation of the body and the blood of Christ, a *sacrificium* of praise,' sure he doth well in it; (for so it is) if Bellarmin mean no more, by the oblation of the Body and the Blood of Christ, than a commemoration and a representation of that great sacrifice offered up by Christ himself; as Bishop Jewel very learnedly and fully acknowledges[d]. But if (40) Bellarmin go further than this, and by 'the oblation of the body and the blood of Christ,' mean, that the priest offers up that, which Christ

[a] 'any' Rush. and Pryn.

[b] [Bell. de Missa, lib. ii. cap. xxi. § 'Deinde falsa.' Op., tom. iii. p. 237. E. See the whole passage above, p. 343, note [n].]

[c] 'well' Rush. and Pryn.

[d] ['The ministration of the Holy Communion is sometimes of the ancient Fathers called an unbloody sacrifice, not in respect of any corporal or fleshly presence, that is imagined to be there without blood-shedding. But for that it representeth and reporteth unto our minds that One and Everlasting Sacrifice that Christ made in His Body upon the Cross. . . . .

"This remembrance and oblation of praises, and rendering of thanks unto God for our redemption in the Blood of Christ, is called of the old Fathers an unbloody Sacrifice, and of S. Augustine, the Sacrifice of the new Test."—Jewell,] Respons. ad Harding, Art. 17. divis. 14. [p. 428. Lond. 1609.]

himself did, and not a commemoration of it only[e]; he is erroneous in that, and can never make it good. But what Bellarmin's opinion and meaning is, when he calls it *sacrificium laudis*, a sacrifice of praise, I cannot tell, till they be pleased to quote the place, that I may see and consider of it. In the meantime there is as little said in the Liturgy for Scotland, which may import an oblation of an unbloody sacrifice, as is in the Book of England. As for 'the oblation of the elements[f],' that's fit and proper; and I am sorry, for my part, that it is not in the Book of England. But they say further:—

> *We are ready (when it shall be judged convenient, and we shall be desired) to discover much more of matters in this kind, as grounds laid for* Missa Sicca, *or the Half Mass; for private Mass without the people; of communicating in one kind; of the consumption by the priest, and the consummation of the sacrifice; of receiving the sacrament in the mouth, and not in the hand, &c.*

Here's a conclusion of this charge against me concerning the Service-book. And these charitable men, which have sought no less than my life, now say, 'they are ready, when it shall be convenient, and that they shall be desired, to deliver much more in this kind.' Sure the time can never be more convenient for them than now, when anything they will say shall be believed, even against apparent evidence, or most full proof to the contrary. And I do desire them, that notwithstanding this is *hora vestra, et potestas tenebrarum*, their most convenient time; that they will discover anything which they have more to say. But the truth is, here's nothing in this threatened heap, but cunning and malice. For they would seem to reckon up many things; but divers of them are little different, as *missa sicca*, and 'communicating in one kind.' And neither these, nor any of the rest, offered with any proof; nor indeed are they able to prove, that any grounds are laid for any one of them, in

[e] "Differentia est in modo; illic enim Christus vere occisus est: hic mortis fit representatio."—Hugo Grot. in Consult. Cassandri. ad Art. 10. p. 25. [p. 79. Lugd. Bat. 1642.]

[f] In the Prayer of Consecration in the Liturgy for Scotland.

that Service-book. And for my own part, I have expressed myself as fully against these particulars, as any Protestant that hath written. Yet they say— 125

> *Our supplications were many against these books: but Canterbury procured them to be answered with horrible*[g] *proclamations. We were constrained to use the remedy of protestation: but for our protestations, and other lawful means, which were used for our deliverance, Canterbury procured us to be declared rebels and traitors to all the parish-kirks of England, where*[h] *we were seeking to possess our religion in peace, against those devices and novations; Canterbury kindles*[i] *war against us. In all these it is known that he was, although not the sole, yet the principal agent and adviser.*

Their supplications against these books of the Canons and the Service, were many indeed; but how well qualified, (the matter duly considered,) I leave to them, who shall take the pains to look into them. And howsoever, most untrue it is, 'that I caused them to be answered with horrible proclamations.' Nor were they constrained by anything that I know, but their own wilfulness, to use the churlish[1] remedy of 'protestation' against their Sovereign's lawful power in lawful things. They add, 'that for their protestations, and other lawful means, which they used for their deliverance, Canterbury procured them to be proclaimed rebels.' Now truly I know no other lawful means that they used, but taking up of arms professedly against the King: and I, for my part, do not conceive that lawful for subjects to do, in any cause of religion or otherwise; and this, I am sure, was the ancient Christian doctrine.

And yet when they had taken up arms, I did not procure them 'to be declared rebels and traitors.' The proclamation for that went out by common advice of the Lds. of the Council; and their carriage at that time deserved it plentifully, let them paint over that action how they can. And let

[1] ['churlish' in margin.]

[g] 'terrible' Rush. and Pryn.
[h] 'when' Rushw. and Pryn.
[i] 'kindled' Rushw. and Pryn.

the world and future ages judge, whether to take arms against their Sovereign (41) were a Christian and an orderly 'seeking to possess their religion in peace,' especially [1] being against no worse 'devices,' or no greater 'novations,' than they have quarrelled at, in 'these books.' Yet for all this, I shall after [k] make it appear, 'that I kindled no war against them,' but kept it off from them, as much and as long as I could. And as themselves confess, 'I was not the sole;' so neither they, nor any man else, shall ever be able to prove I was the principal agent or adviser of that war. Yea, but—

> *When by the Pacification at Barwick, both kingdoms looked for peace and quietness, he spared not openly in the hearing of many, often before the King, and privately at the Council-table, and the Privy Junto, to speak of us as of rebels and traitors; and to speak against the Pacification, as dishonourable, and meet to be broken. Neither did his malignancy and bitterness ever suffer him to rest, till a new war was entered upon, and all things prepared for our destruction.*

126 This article about the breach of the Pacification, the Parliament of England have thought fit to make a part of their charge against me; and therefore I shall put off the main of my answer till I come to these articles. In the meantime thus much in brief I shall say to some circumstantial things in this charge. And first, I do not think, that anything can be said 'to be privately spoken at the Council-table,' that is openly delivered there, in the hearing of his Majesty and all the Lords present; and so was all which I spake there. Secondly, they say, I did 'openly and often speak of them (the Scots) as of rebels and traitors.' That indeed is true; I did so: and I spake as I then thought, and as I think still. For it was as desperate a plotted treason, as ever was in any nation. And if they did not think so themselves, what needed their Act of Oblivion in Scotland? or the like in England, to secure their abettors here? Thirdly, for the 'Pacification at Barwick,' whatever I said touching

[1] ['especially' in margin.]

[k] Page 70 [of orig. MS. See below, p. 425.]

the dishonour of it (as shall after appear[l]), yet no man can truly charge me that I said 'it was meet to be broken.' Fourthly, I had no malignity answerable to their bitterness against the Church of England; nor did 'the entering upon a new war' proceed from my counsels; nor did I give further way to it than all the Lords of the Junto did. Lastly, it is manifest here, how truly the King was dealt with on all hands. For here ye see they take on them to know, not only what was done at the 'Council-table,' but what was said also at 'the private Junto:' when in all that time his Majesty could get no information of anything that proceeded in Scotland. But they proceed yet further against me.

By him was it, that our Covenant[m]*, approven by National Assemblies, subscribed by his Majesty's Commissioner, and by the Lords of his Majesty's Council, and by them commanded to be subscribed by all the subjects of the kingdom, as a testimony of our duty to God and the King: by him was it still called, 'ungodly,' 'damnable,' 'treasonable:' by him were oaths invented, and pressed upon divers of our poor countrymen, upon the pain of imprisonment, and many* [*other*[n]] *miseries, which were unwarranted by law, and contrary to their national oath.*

This Covenant indeed, as it was made at first, without at least, if not against, the King, I did utterly dislike. And if I did say, it was 'ungodly, damnable, and treasonable,' I said no more than it deserved. Nor was it anything the better, but much the worse, if (as it was so made at first) 'it were approved by National Assemblies:' for that was but the greater sign, that the rebellious faction grew stronger. But I never found fault with their Covenant, after they were pleased to take in the King, and by his authority, signified by the subscription of 'his Commissioner[o],' to do what was fit to be done. Nor was there any 'oath invented or pressed by me upon their countrymen, unwarrantable by law;' for I neither

[l] Page 72 [of orig. MS. See below, p. 429.]

[m] [See a copy of the Covenant in Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 734 seq.]

[n] Rushw.

[o] What is meant by taking the King into the Covenant, and his Commissioner subscribing it, see the King's "Large Declaration," p. 134, &c.—W.S. A.C. [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 780, 781.]

invented nor pressed any: but whatsoever was done in this kind, was done by public authority at the Council-table[p]. And if any oath tendered to them there (42) were contrary to their 'national oath,' I doubt it will easily be found, that
127 their 'national oath' (if such it be) was contrary to their due and natural allegiance. But what's next? Why, this:—

> *When our Commissioners did appear to render the reasons of our demands, he spared not, in the presence of the King and the Committee, to rail against our National Assembly, as not daring to appear before the world and Kirks abroad, where himself and his actions were able to endure trial; and against our just and necessary defence, as the most malicious and treasonable contempt of monarchical government that any by-gone age had heard of. His hand also was at the warrant of restraint and imprisonment of our Commissioners, sent from the Parliament, warranted by the King, and seeking the peace of the kingdom.*

There are divers things in this part of the charge. And the first is, 'that I railed at their National Assembly, in the presence of the King and the Committee.' But that, under favour, is not so. Nor is it my fashion to rail at anybody, much less in such a presence. I was then openly taxed, and by name, by the L. Lowdon, one of the Commissioners; and that which I said in answer to him was in my own defence: and it was to this effect:—that whatsoever their Assembly had concluded, did not much move me. For I did assure myself nothing they could say or do could sink my credit in Christendom; going upon grounds which would everywhere abide trial: and I somewhat doubted, whether the acts of their Assembly would do so; since even at home not the bishops only, but the learned divines of Aberdeen, opposed divers of them. This was not 'railing' against their Assembly. And if it shall be thought too much to be spoken by (though for) myself; I humbly desire the Christian reader to remember, that even S. Paul was forced to commend himself, when false brethren accused him[q], 2 Cor. xii.

[p] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 923, 924.]

[q] 2 Cor. xii. 11.

Next, they say, 'I spake against their just and necessary defence.' Truly not I: that which I spake was against their defence, as being neither 'just' nor 'necessary.' And if I then said (speaking of things as they stood then) 'that they were treasonable contempts of monarchical government; then, being such, their defence of them could neither be 'just' nor 'necessary.' And truly, as they stood then, I held them very desperate, against the honour and just power of the King. I say, as they stood then. For since his Majesty hath referred them to honourable Commissioners of both nations, and out of his clemency and goodness hath admitted all, or most of them, (which I believe few kings would have done,) I have spoken nothing of them, but in prayer, that God will graciously be pleased to turn all these things to the good and peace of both kingdoms; which must be little less than a miracle, if He do.

As for my hand, that 'it was at the warrant of restraint of the Commissioners, sent from the Parliament,' &c.; this also is but a mere clamour, to bring me into further hatred, which hath been their aim all along. For why else is 'my hand' picked out alone, whereas, the hands of all (for aught I know) that were then present at the Committee, were subscribed to that warrant[r]? And yet it seems no hand hath troubled 128
them but mine. And for these 'Commissioners seeking the peace of the kingdom,' I will not offer to enter upon their thoughts, what they sought, but leave it to future times, that will discover the success of things, and by it open the aim of the agents, how 'they sought the peace of these kingdoms.' But yet they go on:—

For when we had (say they) *by our declarations, remonstrances, and representations, manifested the truth of our intentions and lawfulness of our actions to all the good subjects of the kingdom of England; when the late Parliament would*[s] *not be moved to assist, or enter into a war against us, maintaining our religion and our liberties;*

[1] ['being such, . . . be,' on opposite page. Originally written, 'then could their defence be neither just']

[r] [See the warrant for the committal of Lord Lowdon, April 11, 1640, signed by Laud, the Marquess of Hamilton and others, Rushworth's Collections, vol. iii. pp. 1103, 1104.]

[s] 'could' Rushw. and Pryn.

Canterbury (13) *did not only advise the breaking up of that high and honourable Court, to the great grief and hazard of the kingdom; but* (*which is without example*) *did sit still in the Convocation, and make Canons and Constitutions against us, and our just and necessary defence.*

They did indeed offer by many pamphlets, printed and sent into England, 'to manifest the truth of their intentions,' which was to join close with their party here, and come and gain some good booty in England: and this end they have obtained. But 'the lawfulness of their actions' they neither have nor can make good, to any impartial and judicious reader of them. And whereas they say, they have made the lawfulness of them manifest 'to all the good subjects of the kingdom of England,' you must know, that they are only such English as join with them in their plot, or at least in affection[t] to religion: and 'tis easy to make anything that fits their humour, and comes from their associates, manifest enough. But God forbid these should be 'all the good subjects of England,' which (may too justly be feared) are none[1] of them. And yet it cannot be denied, but that England hath, at this day, much too many of these 'good subjects.'

They add further, 'that the late Parliament would not assist, nor enter into a war against them.' I believe that is true; and I leave the Parliament to give their own reasons, why they would not. But I am sure that which follows is most untrue, 'that I gave advice for the breaking of it up,' as appears by that which I have formerly [u] set down, and will not repeat. And I shall ever wish from my heart, that the kingdom may never be hazarded more than it hath been by my counsels; and then, by God's blessing, it shall be a happier kingdom, than the youngest now alive are like to see it, if things go on in the track they now are.

Next they say, 'that without all example I sat still in Convocation,' though the Parliament were risen. 'Without example.'—What is that to them, if it were so? But the Archbishops of Canterbury have sat in Convocation, and

[1] ['justly . . . none' originally written, 'justly doubted to be none']

[t] 'in their disaffection.'—[H. W. Abp. Sancroft suggests reading 'disaffection,' or 'their religion.']

[u] Page 7 of orig. MS. [See above, p. 284.]

made Canons too, when no Parliament hath been sitting, as is most manifest by the records of that See[x]. Yea, but there is no example of it since the Reformation. Be it so: nor is it, for all that, forbidden in the Statute of the submission of the Clergy, 25 H. VIII., so they sit by the King's writ. And yet here I was so careful, as that I caused the great lawyers of the kingdom to be consulted about it, and followed 129
their judgments, as is before expressed[y]. And for the Canons which were made, they were not against them. One branch, indeed, of the first Canon is 'against subjects bearing arms against their King, offensive or defensive, under any pretence whatsoever.' But this, as it is the ancient doctrine which the Church of Christ hath ever taught in all times and places, so is it not against them at all, unless they, against Christian religion[z], and natural allegiance, bear arms against their King. But if they do, or have done so, the Canon that was not made against them hits them full. And in this case, let them pretend what they list, 'their defence' can neither be 'just' nor 'necessary.' Yea, but they say further, that I

> *Ordained under all highest pains, That hereafter the Clergy shall preach four times in the year, such doctrine as is contrary not only to our proceedings, but to the doctrine*[a] *of other reformed Kirks, to the judgment of all sound divines and politics, and tending to the utter slavery and ruin of all states and kingdoms, and to the dishonour of kings and monarchs.*

This goes high indeed, if it were as full in proof as 'tis loud in expression. But here is not one show of proof added, either from reason or authority, divine or human, more than their bare word; and therefore I must answer it in the same key. First, then, 'tis true, that in the preface (44) of the first Canon, every minister is enjoined, under a penalty, 'to publish to his people the exposition of regal power contained in that Canon; and this once every quarter of a year.' So then, if the doctrine contained in that Canon be true, (and it was

[x] [It may be sufficient to refer to Hody's History of English Councils, par. iii. pp. 245 seq., where several instances are quoted from the Registers of Archbishops Arundel and Chicheley.]

[y] Page 9 [of original MS. See above, p. 285.]

[z] Page 40 [of original MS. See above, p. 360.]

[a] The place is corrected from Pryn. and Rushw., 'and proceeding.'

approved for truth by the whole National Synod of England,) then all this high charge falls low enough. Besides, it will concern them to consider well, what their proceedings have been. For as for this Canon, it is according to the doctrine and practice of the primitive Church: and they, surely, were both 'pious' and 'sound divines' that lived in it; and I, for my part, shall hold no man a 'sound divine' that runs contrary to it.

Now, that the primitive Christians were of opinion, 'that subjects ought not to take arms against their kings, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever,' (which are the words in our Canon [b], which they are so angry with,) no, not for, or under, pretence of religion, see the proofs in the margin [c]. For in the most bitter times of persecution, for the very highest points of religion, whatever misèries they endured, they still contained themselves within the bounds

[b] Can. i. sub Carolo. [A.D. 1640. apud Wilkins' Concil. tom. iv.]

[c] "Plures nimirum, &c. vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, &c. cui bello non idonei, &c. qui tam libenter trucidamur, si non apud istam disciplinam occidi magis liceret, quam occidere?"—Tert. Apologet. cap. 37. [Op., p. 30. B.] And in another place, speaking of the rebellions raised by Cassius, Niger, and Albinus, he notes, that none of their confederates were Christians. "Nunquam Albiniani, nec Nigriani, vel Cassiani, inveniri potuerunt Christiani;" and then adds: "Christianus nullius est hostis, nedum imperatoris," &c.—Tert. ad Scapulam, cap. ii. § 2. [Op., p. 69. B.] Constantius the Arian emperor lay heavy upon the orthodox Christians: and when it was suggested unto him, that Athanasius and other Catholics had secretly stirred up Magnentius to invade the empire; the holy Father having fully confuted the calumny, concludes thus: Κρατείτω ἡ ἀλήθεια παρὰ σοὶ, καὶ μὴ ἀφῃς ὑπόνοιαν κατὰ πάσης ἐκκλησίας γενέσθαι, ὡς τοιαῦτα βουλευομένων καὶ γραφόντων τῶν Χριστιανῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐπισκόπων.—S. Athanas. Apolog. ad Constantium. Edit. Gr. Lat. p. 681. [Op., tom. i. p. 302. Paris. 1698.] The like faithful subjects the Christians showed themselves to Julian the Apostate, when he used them very sourly. And though they would not obey him, when he commanded them to worship idols, yet in other things they did, and rebelled not.—S. Aug. in Psal. cxxiv. [Op., tom. iv. col. 2019. B. C.] Nor did they forbear, either for want of strength or opportunity: for when Julian died, the whole army cried out, "We are all Christians." [Τότε δὲ αἱρεθεὶς (Ἰουλιανὸς) εἰς τὸ βασιλεῦσαι, παρῃτεῖτο· βίᾳ δὲ ἑλκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἐβόα, μὴ βούλεσθαι λέγων βασιλεύειν ἀνθρώπων ἑλληνίζειν προαιρουμένων, αὐτὸς ὢν Χριστιανός· ὡς οὖν φώνη κοινῇ πάντων ἐγίνετο, ὁμολογοῦσα καὶ αὐτοὺς εἶναι Χριστιανοὺς, δέχεται τὴν βασιλείαν·]—Soc. lib. iii. Hist. Eccles. cap. 22. [p. 199. Cant. 1720.] And so St. Ambrose to Valentinian the younger: "Against your forces, my weapons are prayers and tears;" "Aliter nec debeo nec possum resistere," &c.—S. Amb. in Orat. Collocat. inter Epistolas xxxii. et xxxiii. [Serm. contr. Auxentium, § 2. Op., tom. ii. col. 864. B.] "Non ego me vallabo [*leg.* vallabor] circumfusione populorum," &c. [Epist. xx. § 8. ibid. col. 854.] (which, as the case stood then with him, he was able to do;) "Rogamus, Auguste, non pugnamus."—[Ibid. § 15.] The like for defensive arms: "Inde est enim, quod nemo nostrum, quando apprehenditur, reluctatur, nec adversus injustam violentiam vestram, quamvis nimius et copiosus noster sit populus, ulciscitur." —Cyprian. Epistola ad Demetrianum. [Op., p. 192.

of their obedience; and that too, not out of any want of power, but will, to hurt. And if the doctrine of other Reformed Churches be contrary to this [1], they shall do well to show it; and then I'll give such further answer as is fit.

But if the Canon be 'contrary to the judgment of sound politics;' I know not which they call 'sound [2].' For if you mean such as are of their feather, I think their judgments are alike 'sound;' that is, neither. And if they mean learned and well experienced politics, I believe they will be able to show none of their opinion; unless they be such as have been bred up either in their faction, or in the opposite at Rome. For Bodin [d] is clear, that arms may not be taken up against the prince, be he never so impious and wicked; and instances in Saul and Nebuchadnezzar. And Grotius [e] doth not only say as much as Bodin, but censures them which hold the contrary, to be men 'which serve time and place,' more than truth. Nor is it any whit more lawful for inferior magistrates to make this resistance against the King, than it is for private men. And this is universally true, 'where the princes are free, and have not undertaken the government, under that or the like condition; or being free, seek with a hostile mind to ruin their people, which is scarce possible [f].' 130

[1] ['Now, that the primitive Christians (p. 367) . . . contrary to this,' on opposite page. The passage originally ran, 'And if the doctrine of the Reformed Churches be contrary, they']

[2] ['which . . . sound.' Originally written, 'which of them you call sound.']

Oxon. 1683.] "Quum tam nefanda perpetimur, ne verbo quidem reluctamur; sed Deo remittimus ultionem."—Lactant. lib. v. Divin. Instit. cap. 21. [tom. i. p. 417. Lut. Par. 1748.]

"Neque tunc civitas Christi, quanquam . . . haberet tam magnorum agmina populorum, adversus impios persecutores . . . pro temporali salute pugnavit. Sed potius, ut obtineret æternam, non repugnavit."—S. Aug. lib. xxii. de Civitat. Dei, cap. 6. [Op., tom. vii. col. 1055. C.]

[d] "Nec singulis civibus, nec universis, fas est summi principis vitam, famam, aut fortunas in discrimen vocare, etsi omnium scelerum, &c. Pœnis acerbissimis . . . . statuendum est in eos, qui perniciosissimis scriptis subditos in principes armare consueverunt."—Bodin. lib. ii. de Repub. cap. 5, p. 210 et 212. [Paris. 1586.]

[e] "Temporibus et locis nimium servientes, &c. Nec hoc locum habet in privatis tantum, sed nec magistratibus inferioribus hoc licet," &c.—Grotius, lib. i. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 4, n. 6. [The substance of the passage only is given; p. 102. Paris. 1625.]

[f] Ibid. n. 8—14. [The principal passages referred to are the following, which speak of cases in which resistance is allowable: "Qui principes sub populo sunt, sive ab initio talem acceperunt potestatem, sive postea ita convenit, ut Lacedæmone, si peccent in leges ac rempublicam, non tantum vi repelli possunt, sed, si opus sit, puniri morte."—Num. 8. p. 112. "Consistere simul non possunt voluntas imperandi, et voluntas perdendi. Quare qui se hostem populi totius profitetur, is

And a great civilian tells us, 'that he is properly a rebel, that resists the emperor or his officers, in things belonging to the state of the empire[g].' Some cases he lays down indeed, in which the pleasure of a prince may not be obeyed, but none, in which 'his power is to be resisted[h].'

Nor is it any marvel, that Christians do disallow the taking up of arms against the prince; since even the soundest politics among the Heathen have declared so likewise. Aristotle was of this opinion, that if 'the magistrate strike, yet he is not to be struck again[i]:' and Seneca; that 'men are to bear the unjust, as well as the just commands of princes[k].' And Tacitus, that 'good emperors are to be desired, but whatever they be, to be borne with[l].' And Plutarch, 'that it is not lawful to offer any violence to the person of the king[m].' And Cicero, 'that no force is to be offered either to a man's parent, or to his country[n]:' and therefore (in his judg'ment) not to the prince, who is *pater patriæ*, the father of his country. And the truth is, wherever the contrary opinion is maintained, the prince can never be
131 safe, nor the government settled. But so soon as a faction can get a fit head, and gather sufficient strength, all is torn in pieces, and the prince lost for no considerable error, or perhaps none at all. For a strong party, once heated, can as easily make faults, as find them, either in Church or Commonwealth: and make the King say, as Zedekiah sometimes did to his potent nobles, 'Behold, Jeremiah is in your hands;'

[1] [All the remainder of this paragraph, originally written on thin paper pasted at the bottom of the page, is now lost.]

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eo ipso abdicat regnum. Sed vix videtur id accidere posse in rege mentis compote."—Num. 11. p. 113.]

[g] Rebellem proprie et stricte dici, qui contra imperatorem, vel ejus officiales resistit, in pertinentibus ad statum imperii, asserit Conradus Lancelot [de Jure publ. Personarum,] lib. i. [§ 4.] de Præstantia et Potestate, Imperat. [sect. 27.] n. 12. [p. 437. Francof. 1608.]

[h] Greg. Turonens. lib. v. Hist. n. 19. [p. 223. Lut. Par. 1699.]

[i] [Εἰ ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἐπάταξεν, οὐ δεῖ ἀντιπλήγῆναι.]—Aristoteles citat. apud Grotium, lib. i. de Jure Belli, cap. iv. n. 2. [p. 97.]

[k] Seneca, Epist. 73. [No particular passage can be selected from this epistle. It begins with the statement, "Errare mihi videntur, qui existimant philosophiæ fideliter deditos contumaces esse ac refractarios."]

[l] "Boni expetendi, qualescunque tolerandi."—Tacitus, lib. iv. Histor. [cap. 8.]

[m] "Nec fas nec licitum regis corpori manus inferre." ['Ὡς οὐ θεμιτὸν οὐδὲ νενομισμένον βασιλέως σώματι τὰς χεῖρας προσφέρειν.]—Plutarch. in Vit. Agidis et Cleomen. [cap. xix. p. 804. Ed. Francof.]

[n] "Nec patri, nec patriæ vim offerri oportere."—[Plato, apud] Cicero. lib. i. Epist. Fam. epist. ix.

for the king is not he that can do anything against you[o].' Jerem. xxxviii.[1]

But whereas they say, it is a doctrine 'that tends to the utter slavery and ruin of all states and kingdoms:' that will appear most untrue by the very letter of the Canon itself; which gives way to no 'tyranny,' but expresses only the true power of a king given by God, and to be exercised according to God's law, and the several laws of kingdoms respectively. And, I hope, there will ever be a real difference found in Christian kingdoms[2], between the doctrine that 'tends to slavery and ruin,' and that which forbids 'taking up of arms against their sovereign;' which is all that this Canon doth. And in the meantime, I pray God this, not 'doctrine' only, but 'practice' also, 'of taking up arms against the Lord's anointed,' under mere pretence of religion, do not, in a shorter time, than is feared, bring all to confusion, wherever 'tis practised. For howsoever it bears a show of liberty, yet this way of maintaining it is not only 'dishonourable to kings,' but the ready way to make them study ways of force, and to use power, whenever they get it, to abridge the liberties of such over-daring subjects. And in all times it hath sown the seeds of civil combustions, which have ended in 'slavery' and 'ruin' of flourishing kingdoms. And I pray God, these do not end so in this. But they go on:—

And as if this had not been sufficient, he procures[p] *six subsidies to be lifted of the Clergy, under pain of deprivation to all who should refuse.*

The giving of the King subsidies is no new thing. The Clergy have been ever willing to the uttermost of their power; but what I and my brethren of the clergy did at this time therein is before[q] set down: and I hold it not fit to lengthen this tract with the needless repetition of anything.

And which is yet more[r]*, and above which malice itself cannot ascend; by his means a prayer is framed, printed, and sent through all the parishes of England, to be said*

[1] [The whole paragraph from, 'unless they be' (p. 368. lin. 10)... Jeremiah xxxviii.' on opposite page.] [2] ['in Christian kingdoms,' in margin.] [3] ['And I... go on.' in margin.]

[o] Jerem. xxxviii. 5.
[p] 'procured' Rushw. and Pryn.
[q] Page 9. [of orig. MS. See above, p. 286.]
[r] 'worse,' Rushw. and Pryn.

in all churches in time of Divine Service, next after the Prayer for the Queen and Royal Progeny, against our nation by name, as traitorous subjects, having cast off all obedience to our anointed sovereign, and coming in a rebellious manner to invade England; that shame may cover our faces, as enemies to God and the King.

We are now come to the last part of their Charge; and that's the prayer, which was made to be sent and used in all churches when the Scots came into England[s]. But this
132 prayer was made not 'by my means,' or procurement, but by his Majesty's special command to me to see it done. And it hath been ever usual in England, upon great and urgent occasions, to have one or more prayers made by some bishop or bishops, nearest hand, to fit the present business. And this may appear by divers forms and prayers so made, and publicly used in all times since the Reformation. And since this prayer was made by his Majesty's own command, I am sorry they should say of it, that 'malice itself cannot ascend above it.' Though I persuade myself they thought to hit me, not him in this speech.

(45) Now, what, I pray, is that, 'above which malice itself cannot ascend?' Why, first it is, that they were called in that prayer, 'traitorous subjects, which had cast off all obedience to their anointed sovereign.' Why, but truth spake this, not malice. For 'traitorous subjects' they were then, if ever a king had any; and the King's proclamation called them so before that prayer came forth. And what title soever it is fit to give them now, since his Majesty hath been graciously pleased to treat with them, and pass by their offence, that's another thing; but as the case stood then, they had shaken off all obedience, and were, as they were then called, 'traitorous subjects.' And I had a special charge from the King not to spare that name.

Secondly, they except against this, that 'tis there said, 'that they came in a rebellious manner to invade this kingdom.' And that is most true too; for whereas they said, they came in a peaceable manner to deliver their petitions to the King, for the liberty of their religion and laws: is it a peaceable way to come two or three and twenty thousand

[s] [See above, p. 106.]

men strong, and armed, to deliver a petition? Let the whole world judge, whether this were not a 'rebellious invasion.'

Thirdly, they say 'tis desired in the prayer, that 'God would with shame cover the faces of His, and the King's enemies.' Out of doubt, this petition proceeds from devotion, not from 'malice.' And if the Scots (when they invaded England, upon a treacherous plot, and 'conjuncture[t]' with the like faction here, that so both might have their ends against the King and the Church) were not 'God's enemies, and the King's,' the prayer meddles not with them; if they were (as for my part I must believe, if I judge by their actions), they deserve all that can be prayed against them, so long as they continue in that disobedience. And yet the prayer was not (as 'tis said) 'against their nation by name:' no, God forbid; their nation hath, I doubt not, very many devout servants to God, and loyal subjects to their King. But it was against that prevailing faction among them, which in that great rebellious action became enemies both to God and the King. Now follows the conclusion[1].

Whosoever will[u] *impartially examine what hath proceeded from himself in these two books of Canons and Common Prayer; what doctrine hath been published and printed these years past*[x] *in England, by his disciples and emissaries; what gross popery in the most material points we have found*[2] *in the posthume writings of the prelates of Edinburgh and Dunblaine, his own creatures, his nearest* 133
familiars, and most willing instruments to advance his counsels and projects; shall perceive that his intentions were deep and large against all the Reformed Kirks, and reformation of religion, which in his Majesty's dominions was panting, and had by this time[3] *rendered up the ghost, if God had not in a wonderful way of mercy prevented us*[y].

The conclusion is like the rest; much said in it, and

[1] [After 'conclusion.' originally added, and erased; 'in which I shall answer truly to such passages (if any such be in it) as are there, and not spoken to before.']

[2] ['and are ready to show' here added by H. Wharton, but not in MS.]

[3] ['and had by this time' in marg.]

[t] 'conjunction'
[u] 'shall' Rushw. and Pryn.
[x] 'by-past' Rushw. and Pryn.
[y] 'it.' Rushw.

nothing proved. Where first I desire no favour, but an impartial examination of a discreet, pious, and judicious reader, of all things done by me in the one book or the other. Next, 'for the doctrine which hath been printed these years past,' (though little or none hath been published by any 'disciple or emissary of mine,') I persuade myself the intelligent and impartial reader will find it to be as sound and orthodox, as any that hath been printed in any so many years since the Reformation. And if they, whom I was necessarily to trust in that business, have slipped anything, they are subject to answer the laws in that behalf. Thirdly, what 'gross Popery they have found in the posthume writings of the prelates of Edinburgh (46) and Dunblaine,' I know not. This I know; 'tis an easy, but a base thing, to abuse the dead, who cannot answer for themselves: and they which are so over-bold with the living, may easily and justly enough be suspected not to hold over-fair quarter with the grave.

But whereas it is said, that these 'worthy men' (for such they were) were 'my creatures, my nearest familiars, my willing instruments,' and the like: this I do here avow for truth; I was a mere stranger to Dr. Forbys[z], late prelate of Edinburgh. The first time that ever I saw him, was when I attended as a Chaplain in Ordinary upon King James of blessed memory, in the year 1617[a]. At which time I heard him preach very learnedly before his Majesty. After that time I never saw him, till I attended his Majesty that now is, as Dean of his Chapel, into Scotland, in the year 1633[b]. In the meantime I had contracted no friendship; no letters had passed between us. Then he preached again very learnedly, and his Majesty resolved to make him Bishop of Edinburgh; which was done accordingly; and to my remembrance, he lived not above a year after, or very little more[1c]. And this was all the 'near familiarity' that was between him and me.

With the Bp. of Dunblaine, Dr. Wedderborne, I confess I had more, and longer acquaintance; for he lived some years

[1] ['or very little more.' in margin.]

[z] Forbes.
[a] [See Diary, above, p. 135.]
[b] [See Diary, above, pp. 216, seq.]
[c] [Bp. Forbes died April 1, 1634, only three months after his appointment to the Bishopric. (Biog. Brit. App. p. 62.)]

in England, and was recommended unto me, as a man that had very good parts and learning in him. He lived long with Mr. Isaac Casaubon[d], who was not like to teach him any Popery, and who certainly would not have retained him so long, or so near unto him, had he not found him a deserver. After I came acquainted with him, I wished him very well for his worth sake, and did what I could for him to enable him to live[e]. But sure if my 'intentions were so deep,' as they are after said to be, he could be no fit 'instrument' for me; he being a mere scholar, and a book-man, and as unfit 134
for, as unacquainted with, such 'counsels and projects' as these men would make me author of. And if my 'intentions were so deep,' out of doubt I had brains enough to make a wiser choice of 'instruments' to advance them.

This for the men. But for the matter, if any posthume papers of theirs be other than they ought, their credit must answer for them to the world, as their conscience hath already done to God. And for my own part, I protest I do not, nor ever did, know of any such papers which they had, or left behind; nor do I believe they left any behind them, but such as were worthy their learning and integrity.

But 'my intentions,' they say, 'were deep and large against all the reformed Kirks.' Surely the 'deeper,' the worse, if they were so ill. But as I cannot be so vain, to assume to myself any such depth; so I humbly thank God for it, I am free from all such wickedness. The worst thought I had of any reformed Church in Christendom, was to wish it like the Church of England; and so much better, as it should please God to make it. And the 'deepest intention' I had concerning all or any of them, was how they might not only be wished, but made so: as for 'the reformation of religion in his Majesty's dominions, which,' they say, 'was panting, and had given up the ghost, if God had not in a wonderful way of mercy prevented them:' first, this is, under favour, most untrue, and a base and most undeserved scandal put upon

[d] [He is mentioned by Casaubon in a letter to Abp. Spotswood, only that the name is misspelt 'Olderburnus.' See Casaub. Epist. dcccxix. p. 542.]

[e] [Wedderburne was Preb. of Ely in 1626. (Le Neve, Fasti, p. 77:) Rector of Compton, Hants, Feb. 16, 163⅞. (Rymer, VIII. ii. 165;) and of Mildenhall, Suffolk, Sept. 12, 1628. (Ibid. iii. 28.) He was also Preb. of Whitchurch, in Wells Cathedral. (Wood, F. O. ii. 93.) On his ejection from the See of Dunblane, he obtained a benefice in England. (Ibid.)]

his Majesty's government. Secondly, I shall take leave to prophesy, that unless after all this tumbling the people can be content, that all stand for matters of religion, both doctrine and discipline (and that rather with addition to the Church's power, than detracting from it), as they then did, when these men say 'the Reformation was panting, and giving up the ghost;' I much doubt, that neither they [1], nor their children's children after, shall see such happy days again for all thiings, as these were, which they so unthankfully to God and their King, murmured against, and as these men yet snarl at. And for the spirit which 'prevented' them in this action, in such 'a wonderful way of mercy,' if ever they awake out of this lethargy (for better it is not) they will then see whence he is, and whither he tends. They add to this—

(47) *That if the Pope himself had been in his place, he could not have been more popish; nor could he more zealously have negotiated for Rome against the reformed Kirks, to reduce them to the heresies in doctrine, the superstition*[f] *and idolatry in worship, and the tyranny in government, which are in that See, and for which the reformed Kirks did separate from it, and came forth of Babel. From him certainly hath issued all this deluge, which almost hath overturned all.*

What, not the 'Pope himself?' now surely he could do little then. For (as I told you in the very last passage) I never intended more to the reformed Churches, than to wish them, in doctrine and discipline, like the Church of England. 135 And I hope, that was neither 'to negotiate for Rome,' nor 'to reduce them to heresy in doctrine,' nor 'to superstition and idolatry in worship,' no, nor 'to tyranny in government.' All which are here most wrongfully imputed to me. And this comparing of me with 'the Pope himself,' I could bear with more ease, had I not written more against popish superstition, than any presbyter in Scotland hath done. And for my part I would be contented to lay down my life to-morrow, upon condition the Pope and Church of Rome would admit

[1] ['I much doubt, that neither' in margin.]

[f] superstitions,' Rushw. and Pryn.

and confirm that Service-book, which hath been here so eagerly charged against me: for were that done, it would give a greater blow to Popery, which is but the corruption of the Church of Rome, than any hath yet been given: and that they know full well. And whereas they say, that 'for these things the reformed Churches did separate from it, and came forth of Babel:' that is true, that they did separate; and for these things; but not till, for the maintaining of the contrary to these things, they were excommunicated and thrust out. Then indeed they separated, but not till they were forced by a double necessity; of truth, from which they might not depart; and of that punishment, which would not suffer them to enter. And yet the 'reformed Churches,' all and every of them, had need look well to themselves: for if they came out of Babel to run down into Egypt, they'll get little by the bargain[1]. Now they end in confidence:—

We are therefore confident that your Lps. (this they speak to the English Commissioners, who were to deliver this their charge against me into the Lords' House) *will by your means deal effectually* [*with the Parliament*[g]], *that this great firebrand may be presently removed from his Majesty's presence; and that he may be put to trial, and have*[h] *his deserved censure, according to the laws of the kingdom: which shall be good service to God, honour to the King and Parliament, terror to the wicked, and comfort to all good men; and to us in special, who, by his means principally, have been put to so many and grievous afflictions, wherein we had perished, if God had not been with us.*

Ad. Blayer, who was Register, or Secretary, to the Scotch Commissioners.

Decemb. 14, 1640.

They were, and they might well be, confident upon their Lordships; for all, or some chief of that committee, were in league with them; and some of them the principal men

[1] ['And whereas . . . the bargain.' on opposite page.]

[g] Desunt ista in Rushw.

[h] 'put to' Rushw. and Pryn.

which brought the Scots in, to have their ends upon the King. And they did 'deal effectually with the Parliament;' for (as appears by the date) this charge was delivered to the English Commissioners Decemb. 14. It was read in the Upper House, and transmitted to the House of Commons; and such haste made of it there, that they, though they had no articles drawn, yet came up in haste, and accused me to the Lords of high treason, desiring my commitment, and
136 promising the bringing up of their articles and proof against me in convenient time. So, upon this accusation only, I was, upon Decemb. 18, committed to Mr. James Maxwell, the officer of the House, and so 'removed from his Majesty's presence,' which was the great aim against me. For they conceived I would speak my conscience, if I came near him; and they could not, with any colour of justice, take me from him, but by an accusation of high treason, of which I would not for all the world be as guilty as some of them are [1] which accused me.

Decemb. 14, 1640.

Decemb. 18, 1640.

This was their desire for my commitment. Their next desire was, 'that I might be brought to trial, and receive my censure according to the laws.' And this hath been, and yet is, my desire as well as theirs. For I long for nothing more than a trial; and I can fear no censure (48) that is according to law; and am as free from the breach of any law, that can make me guilty of treason, as I was when my mother bare me into the world. And when I was thus far on upon my answer, I had remained at Mr. Maxwell's and in the Tower eleven months (so many it was when I writ this) [2]. But before I came to my hearing I had been thirteen months in prison, and neither brought to trial, no, nor so much as a particular charge brought up against me, that I might prepare for an answer, in so heavy a business. And I am somewhat further of my accusers' mind, that to bring me to a just trial according to law, would be 'good service to God, honour to the King and the Parliament,' who cannot but suffer in the judgment of moderate men for laying a man of my place and calling so long in prison, (a thing without all

[1] ['of them are' in marg. Originally, 'some are that accused me.']

[2] [He first wrote, 'at Mr. Maxwell's and in the Tower above eleven mo.*' To which a note was appended, 'So many it was when I wrote this; but before I came to my hearing, it was thirteen months in prison.']

precedent,) and yet charging me with no particular. Nay, and I think, in a good sense too, it would be 'a terror to the wicked' to see an innocent man brought to such a trial. Yea, and yet 'a comfort to all good men' too, when they see that an innocent man shall not be let lie and languish to death in prison, (which may be my case, for aught I see,) but that in some time they may hope for trial; yea, and to them, the Scots[1], in special. For this bold and most true word I'll speak:—the Scottish nation in general, the city of Edinburgh in special, and very many particular men[2] of good worth, and some men of honour, besides clergymen of all sorts, during the time I had interest in court, have been more beholding to me, than to any ten English subjects, of what rank and condition soever: and this his Majesty knows, and, I dare say, will witness[3]. And for their present afflictions which they speak of, the current of this discourse will show to the indifferent reader, what a principal means I have been of them. In the mean time, I little deserved from them the name of 'this great firebrand;' for many of them have warmed themselves at me, but yet I never fired any of them. Nor can I make any doubt, but that God 'will deliver me out of the midst of this fire[i],' which He knows I kindled not. Howsoever[4], let them take heed, for as sure as they now make themselves in the conjuncture[k] of a great party, in which one wave seconds and keeps up another, yet though these waves of the sea are mighty, and rage horribly, the Lord that dwelleth on high is mightier. And under Him I rest, and I hope shall, till their waves be broken against some rock or other[5 l].'

[1] ['the Scots,' in marg.] [2] ['particular men' on opp. page.]
[3] ['and this . . . witness.' in marg.]
[4] ['Nor can . . . Howsoever,' on opp. page.]
[5] ['And under . . . other.' in marg.]

[i] Ecclus. li. 4. [k] 'conjunction.' [l] Psal. xciii. 5.

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Now follows Adam Blair the second[a], with a codicil or a corollary to this charge. And this, though it concerns my brethren the bishops as much as me, yet because it charges upon the calling, and was delivered in with the charge against me, though under another date of December 15, I shall express what I think of that too. For I think the Scotch Commissioners[1] took another day in, upon advice, that they might have a fling at the whole calling. And I cannot but think it was upon design among them, when I consider, how eagerly the House of Commons hath followed episcopacy ever since. This codicil to their last will and testament concerning me begins thus:— Decemb. 15, 1640.

We do indeed confess, that the prelates of England have been of very different humours, some of them of a more hot, and others of them men of a moderate temper; some of them more, and some less inclinable to Popery; yet what known truth and constant experience hath made undeniable, we must at this opportunity express[b].

And so must we; for we as ingenuously confess, that the presbyters of Scotland have been of very different humours; some of them of a more hot, and others of them men of a moderate temper. And the more moderate for temper, and the more able for learning among them, have ever declared for the episcopacy of England. But whereas they say, some of the bishops of England 'are more, and some less inclinable to Popery,' that may seem to imply, that all of them are more or less inclinable to Popery, which I dare say is a loud untruth. Perhaps that which some of them call Popery is

[1] ['the Scotch Commissioners' in marg. Orig. 'they']

[a] [Sancroft suggests it should be 'Secretary.' It means, probably, Adam Blair for the second time.]

[b] 'profess.' Rushw. and Pryn.

orthodox Christianity, and not one whit the worse for their miscalling it, (49) though they much the worse for disbelieving it. But now you shall hear what that 'known truth' is, which 'constant experience,' they say, 'hath made undeniable.'

That from the first time of the Reformation of the Kirk of Scotland, not only after the coming of King James of happy memory into England, but before, the prelates of England have been by all means incessantly working the overthrow of our discipline and government.

A little change in the words answers this. For from the very first of the Reformation of the Church of England, as well before, as after, the coming in of King James of happy memory, the presbyters of Scotland have been by all means incessantly working the overthrow of episcopacy, our discipline and government: as appears most manifestly in Archbishop Bancroft's works[c]. So then, either this is a loud untruth, if our prelates did not so practise against them; or, 138
if it be truth, our bishops had altogether as much reason (if not more, the justice of the cause considered) to work the overthrow of their discipline, than they had of episcopacy. But they tell us:—

It hath come to pass of late, that the prelates of England having prevailed and brought [us] to subjection in point of government, and finding their long-waited-for opportunity, and a rare congruity of many spirits and powers ready to cooperate for their ends, have made a strong assault upon the whole external worship and doctrine of our Kirk.

Surely for their doctrine, 'tis too large a field to beat over at this time. Yet many doctrines are on foot amongst them, which are fitter to be weighed than swallowed, would they permit them to be brought to the sanctuary and balanced there. And for the 'whole external worship' which they speak of, I have

[c] The Scottish Genevating. [See Bancroft's 'Dangerous Positions and Proceedings.' The heading of book i. chap. 2. seq. is, 'Scottish Genevating for Reformation,' and of chap. 6. seq. 'Scottish Genevating for Discipline.'—Pp. 9—33. Lond. 1583.] The Survey of the Discipline. [*i. e.* 'A Survay of the pretended Holy Discipline.' Lond. 1593.]

heard it said they have none at all; and out of doubt, 'tis very little they have, if any. And therefore, if 'the prelates of England had gotten an opportunity, and a congruity of spirits and powers to cooperate,' (which yet is not so,) they had been much to blame, if they had not pursued it till they had brought both the one and the other to a better condition than they stand in at present. And if they had such an opportunity, they were much to blame that deserted it; and if they had not, these men are unworthy for asserting it. But what end had the prelates of England in this? Why sure,—

> *By this their doing they did not aim to make us conform to England, but to make Scotland first (whose weakness in resisting they had before experienced in novations of government, and of some points of worship), and therefore*[d] *England, conform to Rome, even in those matters wherein England had separated from Rome, ever since the time of Reformation.*

These men out of doubt have, or take on them to have, a great insight into the hearts and souls of the prelates of England. They know that 'we did not aim to make them conformable to England, but to make Scotland first, and then England, conformable to Rome.' But I know the contrary; and will leave the book itself to be judged by the learned in all parts of Christendom, (for it is carefully translated into Latin,) whether it teach or practise conformity with Rome or not; which trial is far beyond their unlearned and uncharitable assertion[e]. And if any other of my brethren have had this aim, they should do well to name them. But they are so void of charity, that they cannot forbear to say, that we aim to make them conformable to Rome, 'even in those things wherein England had separated from Rome, ever since the Reformation;' which is so monstrous an untruth, that I wonder how impudence itself dare utter it, considering what the bishops of England have written in defence of their Reformation against Rome, and how far beyond anything which the presbyters of Scotland have written against it.

[d] 'thereafter' Pryn and Rushw. [e] 'skill.'

As for the reason which is given, why we began with 139
Scotland, namely, (50) 'because we had experience of their weakness in resisting novations of government, and of some points of worship:' I know not what they mean by 'their weakness in resisting,' unless it be, that they did not prevail against King James of blessed memory, (for resist they did to their power,) when he brought in bishops, (which it seems they call 'novations in government,') and the Articles of Perth, which they style 'novations in some points of worship.' And if this be that which they mean, there is no 'novation' in the one or the other. And for their 'weakness in resisting,' you may see what it is. For no sooner have they gotten the 'opportunity,' which they speak of in the beginning of this codicil, but they cast out all their bishops; reversed all the Articles of Perth; all the Acts of Parliament, which confirmed both; brought back all to the rude draught of Knox and Buchanan, saving that they made it much worse by admitting so many lay-elders with votes in their General Assemblies, as may enable the laymen to make themselves what religion they please; a thing which the Church of Christ never knew in any part of it. Nor have they stayed here, but made use of the same 'opportunity' to cry down the bishops and Church-government in England; as you will see by that which comes next.

An evil, therefore, which hath issued, not so much from the personal disposition of the prelates themselves, as from the innate quality and nature of their office, and prelatical hierarchy, which did bring forth the Pope in ancient times, and never ceaseth[f] *till it bring*[g] *forth Popish doctrine and worship, where it is once rooted; and the principles thereof fomented, and constantly followed.*

They tell us here, that this conformity with Rome is an 'evil that issues not so much from the personal disposition of the prelates themselves, as from the innate quality and nature of their office.' Conformity with Rome in any error or superstition is doubtless an evil; but that 'it issues from the nature of a bishop's office,' cannot be. For that office is to

[f] 'ceased' Rushw. [g] 'brought' Rushw.

preach Christ, and to govern the Church of Christ, according to His laws. If any bishop break this, 'tis his personal error, and most unnatural to his office; to which if he adhere, he can neither teach nor practise 'superstition.' Therefore, certainly, what error soever comes, is from his person, not his office. And 'tis great ignorance to call this evil an 'innate quality of the office;' when the office is a thing of institution, not of nature, and therefore cannot possible have any 'innate quality' in it.

But since they will needs have it thus, let us invert it a little, and see how it will fit them against their King, more than it can fit the bishops for the Pope. For if we should say (as perhaps we may too truly) that the dangerous positions which too many of the Presbyterian faction publicly maintain, and in print, proceed not so much from the 'personal disposition of the Presbyterians themselves, as from the innate quality and nature of their Presbyteries, and their antimonarchical party;' I believe it would trouble them to
140 shape a good answer to it, unless they will admit of that, which I before have given. But then, if they do this, they charge themselves with falsehood in that which they lay upon the Bps' office.

Next they tell you, that 'this prelatical hierarchy did bring forth the Pope in ancient times.' But truly I think they are thus far deceived: the 'hierarchy' cannot be said to bring forth the chief parts of itself. Now, the Patriarchs (of which the Bp. of Rome was one, if not prime in order) were the principal parts of the 'hierarchy;' therefore the 'hierarchy' cannot well be said to bring them forth. But suppose it be so, that the Pope were brought forth by the bishops; what fault is there in it? For the Pope was good, both *nomine et re*, in name and in being, as they were at first. For thirty of them together were martyrs for Christ[h]; and the Church of Rome was famous for her faith over the world in the very Apostles' times. Rom. i.[i] And if either the Popes, or that

[h] ["Vulgo . . traditur, omnes quotquot deinde fuerunt, episcopos Romanos usque ad Sanctum Sylvestrum martyrio vitam finisse, quod (salva semper veritate) a veteribus historicis traditum non reperio."] Onuphr. in Platinæ Hyginum [apud Platinam de Vitis Pontif. p. 20. Col. Agr. 1610]. Vide autem Johannem [Pearsonum, Episc.] Cestrens. [de Serie et Successione Primorum Romæ Episc.] Dissert. i. [cap.] iv. [§] 2. [pp. 18, 19. Lond. 1687.]—W. S. A. C.

[i] Rom. i. 8.

Church, have degenerated since, that is a personal crime, and not to be imputed to the 'office.' And therefore these men do very ill, or very ignorantly, to affirm, that this 'office' (of episcopacy) (51) 'never ceases till it bring forth Popish doctrine and worship.' For in all the time of these thirty Popes, there was no doctrine brought forth that may justly be accounted superstitious, or called 'Popery.' For the last of those thirty died in the year [309]. And they cannot be ignorant that Bishop Jewell[k], on the behalf of the Church of England, challenged the current of the Fathers, for full six hundred years, to be for it, against Rome, in very many and main points of Popery. And[1] therefore I may well say, there was no Popery in the world, when the thirtieth Pope died. Well, if this evil do not arise from 'the hierarchy,' yet it doth—

> *From the antipathy and inconsistence of the two forms of the ecclesiastical government, which they conceived, and not without cause, one island, joined*[l] *also under one head and monarch, was not able to bear: the one being* [*the same*[m]] *in all the parts and powers which it was in the time of Popery, and still is in the Roman Kirk; the other being the form of government received, maintained, and practised by all the Reformed Kirks, wherein, by their own testimonies and confessions, the Kirk of Scotland had amongst them no small eminency.*

Sure these men have forgotten themselves. For they tell us immediately before, that this evil of bringing forth 'Popish doctrine and worship' proceeds from the very office of a bishop; and now they add, and[2] 'from the antipathy of these two forms of Church-government.' Doth the 'bishop's office' produce Popery? And doth 'the antipathy between the Presbytery and Episcopacy' produce Popery too? So then[3]

[1] ['for full . . . And' on opposite page. Originally written, 'to be for it against Rome. Therefore']

[2] ['now they add, and' in marg.]

[3] ['then' in marg.]

[k] Jewell's Reply to Dr. Harding. [*i.e.* The Defence of the Apology, especially pp. 614–617. This challenge was pointedly given in his celebrated Sermon at Paul's Cross. Works, pp. 57, 58.]

[l] 'united' Rushw. and Pryn.

[m] 'the same' is added from Pryn and Rushw.

belike in these men's judgments, both bishops, and they which oppose bishops, produce Popery. And if that be true, Popery must needs increase, that is produced on all sides.

An evil, then, there is, though perhaps not this, which issues 'from that antipathy and inconsistence of these two forms of ecclesiastical government, which,' they say, 'we' 141 prelates of England 'conceived, and not without cause, one island, joined also under one head and monarch, was not able to bear:' and that evil was, as I conceive, the continual jars and oppositions, which would daily arise among his Majesty's subjects of both kingdoms, concerning these different forms of government; and these would bring forth such heart-burnings and divisions among the people, that the King might never be secure at home, nor presume upon united forces against a foreign enemy. And this is evil enough to any monarch of two divided kingdoms, especially lying so near in one island. Now, if the bishops of England did conceive thus, and, as our adversaries here confess, 'not without cause,' then certainly, by their own confession, the prelates of England had reason to use all just endeavours to remove and take away this 'inconsistence,' that the form of the ecclesiastical government might be one, 'in one island, and under one monarch;' that so faction and schism might cease, which else, when they get opportunity, find a way to rend the peace of kingdoms, if not kingdoms themselves. And this island (God of his mercy preserve it!) is at this Jan. 22, time in great hazard to undergo the fatality of it in a great 1641. measure.

The next is a manifest untruth. For though there be (as is said) 'an inconsistence between the Governments, which makes one island under one king unable to bear both,' in the different parts of the island, or, at least, unsafe while it bears them; yet neither 'is episcopacy in all the parts and powers of it, that which it was in time of Popery, and still is in the Roman Church.' And this is most manifest to any man, that will but look upon what power the prelates had before, and what they have since the Statute of the Submission of the Clergy, in Hen. VIII. time, beside all those statutes which have since been made in divers particulars, to weaken

their power. Nor is 'the other form of government received, maintained, and practised in all other Reformed Churches;' unless these men be so strait-laced, as not to admit the Churches of Sweden, and Denmark, and, indeed, all or most of the Lutherans, to be Reformed Churches. For in Sweden, they retain both the thing and the name; and the governors of their Churches are, and are called, bishops. And among the other Lutherans the thing is retained[n], though not the name. For instead of bishops, they are called superintendents, and instead of archbishops, general superintendents. And yet even here, too, these names differ more in sound than in sense. For bishop is the same in Greek, that superintendent is in Latin. Nor is this change very well liked by the learned. Howsoever, Luther, since he would change the name, did yet very wisely, that he would leave the thing, and make choice of such a name, as was not altogether unknown to the ancient Church. For St. Aug.[1] mentions it as plainly and as fully as any of these[o]. As for 'the eminency' which (they say) their 'Kirk of Scotland had amongst them,' I envy it not; but God bless it so that it may (52) deserve eminence, and have it. And now we are come to the close of all, in which their desire is expressed.

This also we represent to your Lordships' most serious consideration: that not only the firebrands may be removed, but the fire may be provided against, that there be no more combustion[p] *afterwards.* 142

Decemb. 15, 1640. *Ad. Blayer:*

[1] ['For in Sweden . . . these.' on opposite page.] [2] ['but' in marg.]

[n] "Compertum habens (Lutherus) rem sine Ecclesiæ pernicie abrogari non posse, quod unum potuit nomen sustulit, expunctoque [*leg.* inductoque et expuncto] puriore vocabulo Græco parum Latinum supposuit; pro episcopis superintendentes, pro archiepiscopis generales superintendentes appellans."—Tilenus Paræn. ad Scotos, c. 6. [p. 21. Lond. 1620.] And he well knew the state of his neighbour churches.

Saravia similiter, Præfat. L. de diversis Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus. [Sign. A. 2. rect. Lond. 1590.] Zanchius de Relig. Observat. c. 25. [de Eccl. Milit. Gubernat.] n. 10, 11. [Op., tom. viii. col. 545. 1605.] Jacob. Haerbrand, Lutheranus, in Locis Commun. p. 699; saving that he dislikes not the alteration of the name.

[o] S. Aug. lib. xix. de Civ. Dei, c. 19. Ἐπισκοπεῖν Latine superintendere possumus dicere; quod ille, qui præficitur, eis, quibus præficitur, superintendit, curam eorum sc. gerens. [Op., tom. vii. col. 905. C.D. The two clauses of the sentence are here transposed.]

[p] 'recombustion after this,' Rushw. and Pryn.

Their request is, that not only the bishops, whom they are pleased to call 'the firebrands,' (which, indeed, themselves and their adherents are,) but the office, or Episcopacy itself, (which they call 'the fire,') may be provided against, 'that there may be no combustion after.' This I as heartily wish as any man can; but see as little cause to hope for. For what hope can there be against 'after-combustion,' while 'the fire,' which they themselves have kindled, while they call other men incendiaries, burns on still, and is like to fasten upon the very[1] foundations, to the eating of them out?

Yet I desire here, that the justice and the indifferency of these men may be well considered, and that in two things. The one, in the cause itself; for Episcopacy is settled by law here; nay, it is many ways woven into the laws and customs of this realm. And their great complaint is, that their Presbyteries (which they say are established by their law) were offered to be suppressed. So they are angry their Presbyteries should be touched against their law; but Episcopacy must be destroyed, though it be never so much against our law. The other piece of their justice is personal to me. For here, at one and the same time, and in this one and the same charge, they do by consequences lay load on me, as if I had invaded their laws; while they invade ours avowedly, and dare present this their invasion, as well as that by arms, in full and open Parliament of England[2], to have their will in the one, and their reward for the other.

Now, if these two forms of ecclesiastical government, by Episcopacy and by Presbyteries, be inconsistent under one monarch, (as they themselves here confess,) then I (were I at liberty) would humbly beseech the Lords to consider, first, whether these men have any show or colour of justice in this their demand? Secondly, whether that form of Church-government, which hath come down from the Apostles, continued to this day, is established by the laws and usage of this kingdom ever since it was Christian, be not fitter for them to embrace and settle, than that form which is but of yesterday, and hath no acquaintance at all with our laws, nor is agreeable with monarchy? And lastly, when the bishops

[1] ['very' in marg.]
[2] [Originally, 'dare present it in full and open Parliament,']

are taken away, and a parity (the mother of confusion) made in the Church, and their lands sacrilegiously made a prey (which I have long feared is not the least aim of too many), whether then the temporal lords shall not follow after? and whether their honour will not then soon appear too great, and their means too full, till [1] a *Lex Agraria* will pass upon them, and lay them level with them, whom some of them 143
favour too much? And when these things are considered, God bless them, whom it most concerns, to lay it to heart betimes, if time be not slipped already.

Here (having answered to all which the Scots have laid in against me) I would have the Scotch Service inserted and printed. The book lies by me, very exactly translated into Latin; and so I hope this tract shall be [2].

[1] ['till' in marg. Originally 'and']
[2] ['Here . . . be.' on opposite page.]

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CAP. V.

AND now, having answered (and, I hope, sufficiently) to all the particulars in the charge of the Scots against me, I must return to the history again, as I left it[a]; where I told you the House of Commons were very angry with the late Canons, and joining this accusation of the Scots to such articles as they in their committee had framed against me, upon Decemb. 18, 1640, they accused me of high treason (as is before expressed[b]), and I was committed to custody to Mr. James Maxwell, the officer of the Upper House.

When they had lodged me here, I was followed with sharpness in both Houses, upon all occasions of any complaint made against the proceedings at Council-table, Star-chamber, High Commission, or any place or thing in which I had aught to do[c]. Nothing omitted by some cunning agents, which might increase the rage and hatred of the people against me. The chief instruments herein were the Brownists, and they which adhered unto (53) them; who were highly offended with me because I hindered and punished (as by law[1] I might) their conventicles and separation from the Church of England. And though I pitied them, as God knows, from my very heart, yet because necessity of government forced me to some punishment, their malignity never gave me over.

Among, and above the rest, there were three men[d], Mr. Henry[2] Burton, a minister beneficed in Friday-street, London; Dr. John[3] Bastwick, a physician; and Mr. William[4]

[1] ['as by law' originally written 'as much as by law']
[2] ['Henry' interlined.]
[3] ['John' interlined.]
[4] ['William' interlined. The name spelled 'Prin.']

[a] P. 13 [of original MS. See above, p. 207.]
[b] P. 1 [of original MS. See above, p. 275.]
[c] See Rushw. par. iii. vol. ii. pp. 135, 152–154, 174, 183, 184, 187, 193, 194, &c. 207, 235, &c. 282, &c.
[d] See the petitions of these three men, presented to the House of Commons against the Archbishop, apud Rushworth, par. iii. vol. i. p. 74, &c.

Pryn, a common lawyer; who[1] were censured Junii 14, 1637, in the Star-chamber, for notorious libels printed and published by them against the hierarchy of the Church. They were then and there sentenced to stand in the pillory, and lose their ears; and because they should not stay further to infect London, they were sent away by order of that Court; Mr. Burton to Guernsey, Dr. Bastwick to Scilly, and Mr. Pryn to Jersey. In the giving of this sentence, I spake my conscience, and was after commanded to print my speech[e]. But I gave no vote, because they had fallen in many passages so personally upon me, that I doubted many men might think[2] spleen, and not justice, led me to it. Nor was it my counsel that advised their sending into those remote parts.

The Brownists and the preciser part of the kingdom were nettled at this; and the anger turned upon me, though I were the patient all along. For they had published most venomous libels against me; and I did but show such as came to my hands to the state, and there left them to do what they pleased in it. But that for which they were sentenced, was a book written by Mr. Burton, and printed and sent by himself to the Lords sitting in Council[f]; and a Litany[3], and other scandalous things[4], scattered and avowed by Dr. Bastwick; and things of like nature by Mr. Pryn. And he was thought to deserve less favour than the rest, because he had been censured before in that great Court for gross abuses of the Queen's gracious Majesty and the government, in his book intituled 'Histriomastix[g].'

This censure being past upon these men, though I did no more than is before mentioned, yet they and that faction 145

[1] ['who' interlined.]
[2] ['think' originally written 'might fear things']
[3] ['and a Litany,' originally written, 'and Dr. Bastwick had published a Litany,']
[4] [Originally written, 'things then in court,']

[e] [This speech will be printed in vol. vi., where an account will be given of the writings and proceedings of these three persons.]
[f] [It was entitled, 'A Letter to the true-hearted Nobility.']
[g] ['The title of the book is, 'Histriomastix, the Players' Scourge, &c., against the intolerable Mischief and Abuses of Common Players and Playhouses. 1633' (*i.e.* 1632, according to the printers' rule of beginning the year at Michaelmas. See marg. note in Biogr. Brit. Append. p. 145). Prynne, after remaining in prison from Feb. 2, 163⅔. to Feb. 11, 163⅔, was sentenced to a fine of 5,000*l.*, to be placed in the pillory, and to be imprisoned during life.]

continued all manner of malice against me; and I had libel upon libel, scattered in the streets and pasted upon posts. And upon Friday, Julii 7, 1637, a note was brought to me of a short libel, pasted on the cross in Cheapside, that the Arch-Wolf of Canterbury had his hand in persecuting the saints, and shedding the blood of the martyrs. Now, what kind of saints and martyrs these were, may appear by their libellous writings,—courses with which saints and martyrs were never acquainted. And most certain it is, that, howsoever the times went then or go now, yet in Queen Elizabeth's time Penry[h] was hanged, and Udal[i] condemned and died in prison, for less than is contained in Mr. Burton's book, as will be evident to any man that compares their writings together. And these saints would have lost their lives, had they done that against any other state Christian, which they did against this. And I have yet one of the desperatest libels[k] by me[1] that hath ordinarily been seen, which was sealed up in form of a letter, and sent to me by Mr. Pryn, with his name to it[2]; and but that it is exceeding long, and from the present business, I would here have inserted it.

To return, then. The faction of the Brownists, and these three saints, with their adherents, (for they were now set at liberty by the House of Commons, and brought into London in great triumph,) filled the press almost daily with ballads and libels, full of all manner of scurrility, and more untruth, both against my person and my calling[3]. These were cried about London streets, and brought (many of them) to Westminster, and given into divers lords' hands, and into the hands of the gentlemen of the House of Commons; and yet no order taken by either House to suppress the printing of such known and shameless lies as most of them contained; a thing which many sober men found much fault withal, and which, I believe, hath hardly been seen or suffered in any civil commonwealth, Christian or other. But when I saw the Houses of Parliament so regardless of their own honour,

[1] ['by me' in marg.]
[2] ['to it' interlined.]
[3] ['both . . . calling.' in marg.]

[h] [See Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 638.]
[i] [Ibid. p. 622.]
[k] It was no libel, indeed, in strictness of law, having the author's name set to it; but it is called a libel for the scurrilous and foul language of it. —H. W.

to suffer these base and barbarous courses against an innocent man, and as then[1] not so much as charged in general, I thought fit to arm myself with patience, and endure that which I could not help. And by God's blessing I did so, though it grieved (54) me much more for my calling, than for my person. And this spreading of libellous, base pamphlets
Jan. 26, 1641. continues to this day without control; and how long it will continue to the shame of the nation, I cannot tell.

While I was thus committed to Mr. Maxwell, I found I was, by the course of the House, to pay in fees for my diet and custody, twenty nobles a-day. This grew very heavy. For I was stayed there full ten weeks, before so much as any general charge was brought up by the House of Commons against
Dec. 21, 1640. me, which in that time came to four hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence; and Mr. Maxwell had it all, without any abatement[2]. In the meantime, on Monday, Decemb. 21, upon a petition of Sir Robert Howard, 146
I was condemned to pay five hundred pounds unto him for false imprisonment. And the Lords'[3] order was so strict[l], that I was commanded to pay him the money presently, or give security to pay it in a very short time[m]. I paid it, to satisfy the command of the House; but was not therein so well advised as I might have been, being committed for treason.

Now, the cause of Sir Robert Howard[n] was this. He fell in league with the Lady Viscountess Purbeck[o]. The Lord Viscount Purbeck[4 p], being in some weakness and distemper,

[1] ['as then' originally written 'as yet']
[2] ['which in that . . . abatement.' on opposite page.]
[3] ['the Lords' order' originally written 'the order']
[4] ['The Lord Viscount Purbeck' originally written 'This Lord']

[l] [It is thus entered in the Lords' Journals:—
"Dec. 21, 1640 . . . Ordered, that the said Sir Robert Howard shall forthwith receive and be paid the full sum of one thousand pounds by way of damages; viz. five hundred pounds from the Lord Archbishop of Cant., two hundred and fifty pounds from Sir Henry Marten, and two hundred and fifty pounds from Sir John Lambe; and that the several bonds of three thousand five hundred pounds shall be likewise forthwith cancelled and delivered up unto him the said Sir Robert Howard."]

[m] [They were required to give security to pay it on New Year's day. See Lords' Order of Dec. 22.]

[n] [Fifth son of Thomas, first Earl of Suffolk.]

[o] [Frances, daughter of Sir Edw. Coke, and Lady Hatton, and wife of Visc. Purbeck.]

[p] [John Villiers, the eldest brother of the whole blood to the Duke of Buckingham, created Viscount Purbeck June 19, 1619.]

the lady used him at her pleasure, and betook herself in a manner wholly to Sir Robert Howard, and had a son by him. She was delivered of this child in a clandestine way, under the name of Mistress Wright. These things came to be known, and she was brought into the High Commission; and there, after a legal proceeding[1], was found guilty of adultery, and sentenced to do penance; many[2] of the great lords of the kingdom being present in court, and agreeing in the sentence[q]. Upon this sentence, she withdrew herself, to avoid the penance. This sentence passed at London-House, in Bishop Mountain's time, Novemb. 19, *an. Dom.* 1627[3]. I was then present, as Bishop of Bath and Wells[4]. After this, when the storm was somewhat over, Sir Robert Howard conveyed her to his house at . . . . in Shropshire, where she lived avowedly with him some years, and had by him . . . children. At last they grew to that open boldness, that he brought her up to London, and lodged her in Westminster.

[1] [Originally added in opposite page, 'before many of the great lords of the kingdom, as well as the ordinary Commissioners.']
[2] ['many' originally written 'most']
[3] ['Novemb. . . . 1627.' added in marg.]
[4] ['of Bath and Wells.' in marg. Originally written, 'of London.']

[q] There were present, and concurring in the sentence, Sir Tho. Coventry, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal [created Baron Coventry of Aylesborough April 10, 1628], Hen. Earl of Manchester, Lord President of the Council [Henry Montagu], W. Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward [Abp. Laud's predecessor as Chancellor of Oxford], Philip Earl of Montgomery, Lord Chamberlain [successor to his brother William in the title of Earl of Pembroke and to Laud in the Chancellorship of Oxford], Edw. Earl of Dorset [Edward Sackville; see above, p. 151], Oliver Lord Viscount Grandison [Sir Oliver St. John, connected by marriage with Sir Edw. Villiers, an elder brother of Lord Purbeck (Collins's Peerage, vol. iii. pp. 769, 786)], George Lord Bishop of London [George Montaigne, afterwards Bishop of Durham], Rich. Lord Bishop of Duresme [Rich. Neile, afterwards Abp. of York], Sam. Lord Bishop of Norwich [Sam. Harsnett, afterwards Abp. of York], Jo. Lord Bishop of Rochester [John Buckeridge, afterwards Bp. of Ely], William Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells [William Laud], Sir Jo. Coke, Secretary [see his character in Clarendon's Hist. of Rebell. vol. i. p. 113], Sir Hen. Marten [Dean of the Arches Court], Jo. Donn, Dean of St. Paul's [he died March 31, 1631; see his Life, by Walton], Walt. Balcanquall, Dean of Rochester [also Master of the Savoy; he was afterwards Dean of Durham. He suffered much in the Rebellion, and died 1645], Tho. Worrall, Doctor of Divinity [D.D. of Brazenose Coll. Oxford, Rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, afterwards Preb. of St. Paul's], Edm. Pope [D.C.L. of All Souls, Chancellor to the Bp. of Rochester, and Surrogate to the Judge of the Prerogative Court (Wood, F. O. i. 282)], and Hugh Barker [D.C.L. of New Coll.; according to Wood (F. O. i. 307), Dean of the Arches; but he is not in the list given by Newcourt (Repert. vol. i. p. 445)], Doctors of Law, and Sir Charles Cæsar [Judge of the Audience, and Master of the Faculties], who only desired to be spared, and so gave no sentence.

This was so near the Court, and in so open view, that the King and the Lords took notice of it, as a thing full of impudence, that they should so publicly adventure to outface the justice of the realm in so foul a business[1]. And one day, as I came of course to wait on his Majesty, he took me aside, and told me of it, being then Archbishop of Canterbury, and added that it was a great reproach to the Church and nation, and that I neglected my duty in case I did not take order for it. I made answer, she was the wife of a peer of the realm, and that without his leave I could not attach her; but that now I knew his Majesty's pleasure, I would do my best to have her taken, and brought to penance, according to the sentence against her. The next day I had the good hap to apprehend both her and Sir Robert; and, by order of the High Commission Court, imprisoned her in the Gate-house, and him in the Fleet.

This was, as far as I remember, upon a Wednesday; and the Sunday sevennight after, was thought upon to bring her to penance. She was much troubled at it, and so was he; and therefore, in the middle of the week following, Sir Robert dealt with some of his friends, and, among the rest, with one Sir . . . . of Hampshire, who with money corrupted the turnkey of the prison, (so they call him[2],) and conveyed the lady forth, and after that into France in man's apparel (as that knight himself hath since made his boast). 147
This was told me the morning after the escape; and you must think the good fellowship of the town was glad of it. In the meantime I could not but know, though not perhaps prove as then, that Sir Robert Howard laboured and contrived this conveyance; and thereupon, in the next sitting of the High Commission, ordered him to be close prisoner[r] till he brought the lady forth. So he continued close prisoner about some two or three months. For this the fine[3] above mentioned was imposed upon me, as being a most unjust and

[1] ['as a thing . . . business.' on opposite page.]
[2] ['(so they call him,)' originally written, '(as they call him,)']
[3] ['fine' originally written 'punishment']

[r] Close prisoner from the High Commission Court, was not to shut him up in his chamber, but only not to suffer him to go out of the prison. —W. C.

illegal imprisonment. Whereas the Parliament (to the great honour of their justice be it spoken) have kept me in prison now full thirteen months and upward, and have not so much as brought up a particular charge (55) against me; and how much longer they will keep me, God knows. Now, say that all forms of law were not observed by me; yet somewhat was to be indulged, in regard I did it to vindicate such a crying impiety. But yet, I do here solemnly protest, I observed the order of the court in which I sat, and that court settled by an Act of Parliament, 1 Eliz.[s] And I did not knowingly err in any particular. More I could say in these my sufferings; but I will blast no family of honour for one man's fault. Jan. 28, 1641.

On Thursday, Januar. 21, 164½, a Parliament-man, of good note in the House of Commons, and well interested in divers lords, gave me to understand, that some lords were very well pleased with my patient and moderate carriage since my commitment; and that four earls, of great power in the House, should say, that the Lords were not now so sharp against me as they were at first; and that now they were resolved, only to sequester me from the King's counsels, and to put me from my archbishopric. I was glad to hear of any favour, considering the times; but considering my innocency, I could not hold this for favour. And I could not but observe to myself, what justice I was to expect; since here was a resolution taken among the leading men of the House, what censure should be laid upon me, before any charge, so much as in general, was brought up against me. Jan. 21, 164½.

[s] [1 Eliz cap. i, sec. xviii.]

CAP. VI.

Feb. 26, 1640. UPON Friday, Feb. 26, I had been full ten weeks in restraint, at Mr. Maxwell's house; and this day, being St. Augustine's day, my charge in general Articles was brought up from the House of Commons to the Lords, by Sir Hen. Vane the younger[a]. It consisted of fourteen Articles. These generals they craved time to prove in particular, and that I in the meantime might be kept safe. Upon this I was presently sent for to the House, and the Articles were read to me at the bar. When the Clerk of the Parliament had done reading, I humbly craved leave of the Lords to speak a few words; which were to this effect:—

"My Lords,—This is a great and a heavy charge, and I must be unworthy to live, if it can be made good against me; for it makes me against God, in point of religion; against the King, in point of allegiance; and against the public, in point of safety, under the justice and protection of law. And though the King be little, if at all, mentioned, yet I am bold to name him, because I have ever been of opinion, that the King and his people are so joined together in one civil and politic body, as that it is not possible for any man to be true to the King, as King, that shall be found treacherous to the State established by law, and work to the subversion of the people; though perhaps every one, that is so, is not able to see through all the consequences, by which one depends upon the other[1].

"So my charge, my Lords, is exceeding heavy in itself; though I as yet do not altogether feel the weight of it. For 'tis yet, as your Lordships see, but in generals; and generals make a great noise, but no proof; whereas, 'tis proof upon particulars that makes the weight of a charge sit close upon

[1] ['Though perhaps . . . other.' on opposite page.]

[a] Rushworth saith, they were carried up by Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Maynard, and inserteth Pym's speech, made at the presenting of them to the Lords, par. iii. vol. i. pp. 195, 199, &c. So also Pryn, pp. 24, 25, 28, who also exhibits, pp. 23, 24, the preliminary votes and orders of the Commons, made Febr. 22, 23, 24, 26, for the framing and carrying up the Articles to the Lords.—H. W.

any man. Now, my Lords, 'tis an old and a true rule, *Errare contingit descendendo;* Error doth most often happen, and best appear, when men descend to particulars; and with them, when I shall be charged, I hope my innocence will furnish me with a sufficient answer to any error of mine that shall be thought criminal, or any way worthy the cognizance of this high and honourable court. As for human frailties, as I cannot acquit myself of them, so I presume your Lordships will be favourable judges of them; since in the transaction of so many businesses as passed my hands, men, far abler than ever I can be, have been subject to them, and perhaps to as many and as great. But for corruption, in the least degree, (I humbly praise God for it,) I fear no accuser, that will speak truth.

"But, my Lords, that which goes nearest unto me among these Articles is, that I should be thought foul and false in the profession of (56) my religion; as if I should profess with the Church of England, and have my heart at Rome, and
149 labour by all cunning ways to bring Romish superstition in upon the kingdom. This, my Lords, I confess, troubles me exceedingly; and if I should forget myself, and fall into passion upon it, I should but be in that case which St. Jerome confessed he was in, when he knew not how to be patient, when falsehood in religion was charged upon him [b]. And yet that was nothing so high a charge as this which is laid against me; which is not only to be basely false myself, but withal to labour to spread the same falsehood over the whole kingdom."

And here I humbly besought their Lordships, that I might a little enlarge myself, and I did so. But because I purpose here to set down the general Articles, that were brought up against me, and that one of them comes home to this point of religion, I shall put it off till I come to that Article [c], and there set it down at large, what I now said. And this I do to avoid an useless and a tedious repetition. Here then follow the Articles themselves, as they were that day charged upon me, with my general answer to each of them. And more I cannot give, till particulars shall be put up against me.

[b] ["Nolo in suspicione hæreseos quenquam esse patientem, ne apud eos, qui ignorant innocentiam ejus, dissimulatio conscientiæ judicetur, si taceat."—S. Hieron. ad Pammach. § 2. Op., tom. ii. col. 409. C. Venet. 1767.]

[c] 'Tis Article 10. p. 63 [of orig. MS. See below, p. 411.]

CAP. VII. 150

ARTICLES[a] OF THE COMMONS ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT, IN MAINTENANCE OF THEIR ACCUSATION AGAINST WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, WHEREBY HE STANDS CHARGED WITH HIGH TREASON[b].

1. *That he hath traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom*[c], *and instead thereof to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law; and to that end hath wickedly and traitorously advised his Majesty, that he might at his own will and pleasure levy and take money of his subjects, without their consent in Parliament. And this he affirmed was warrantable by the law of God.*

Ad primum.

I DID never 'endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws of this kingdom of England,' nor to 'introduce an arbitrary or tyrannical government,' contrary to law. I could not endeavour this; my knowledge and judgment going ever against an 'arbitrary government,' in comparison of that which is settled by law. I learned so much long ago out of Aristotle[d]; and his reasons are too good to be gone against[1]. And ever since I had the honour to sit at the Council-table, I kept myself as much to the law as I could, and followed the judgment of those great lawyers which then sat at the board. And upon all references which came from his Majesty, if I were one, I left those freely to the law, who were not willing to have their business ended any other way. And this the Lord Keeper[e], the Lord Privy Seal[f], and the Counsel

[1] ['I learned . . . against.' on opposite page.]

[a] They are printed also in Rushworth, par. iii. vol. i. p. 196, &c. Pryn's Compl. Hist. p. 25, &c.

[b] ['and other high crimes and misdemeanours.' Rushw.

[c] 'this kingdom of England,' Rushw. and Pryn.

[d] [Δεῖ τοὺς νόμους κυρίους εἶναι κειμένους ὀρθῶς· τὸν ἄρχοντα δὲ, ἂν εἷς, ἄν τε πλείους ὦσι, περὶ τούτων εἶναι κυρίους, περὶ ὅσων ἐξαδυνατοῦσιν οἱ νόμοι λέγειν ἀκριβῶς, διὰ τὸ μὴ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι καθόλου δηλῶσαι περὶ πάντων.]—Arist. lib. iii. Polit. c. 11. [p. 108. Oxon. 1810.]

[e] [John Finch.]

[f] [Henry Montagu, Earl of Manchester.]

Learned, which attended their clients' causes, can plentifully witness.

I did never 'advise his Majesty, that he might at his own will and pleasure levy money of his subjects without their consent in Parliament.' Nor do I remember, that ever I affirmed any such thing as is charged in the Article. But I do believe, that I may have said something to this effect following: that howsoever it stands by the law of God, for a king, in [1] the just and necessary defence of himself and his kingdom, to levy money of his subjects; yet where a particular national law doth intervene in any kingdom, and is settled by mutual consent between the king and his people, there moneys ought to be levied by and according to that law. And by God's law, and the same law of the land, I humbly conceive, the subjects, so met in Parliament, ought to supply their prince, when there is just and necessary cause. And if an absolute necessity do happen by invasion, or otherwise, which gives no time for counsel or law, such a necessity (but no pretended one) is above all law. And I have heard the greatest lawyers in this kingdom confess, that in times of such a necessity, the King's legal prerogative is as great as this.

151 And since here is of late such a noise made about the subversion of the 'fundamental laws of the kingdom,' and men's lives called this way in question; 'tis very requisite, that these 'fundamental laws' were known to all men: that so they may see the danger before they run upon it: whereas now, the common laws of England have no text at all. Insomuch that many, who would think themselves wronged, if they were not accounted good lawyers, cannot in many points assure a man what the law is. And by this means, the judges have liberty to retain more in *scrinio pectoris* than is fitting; and which comes a little too near that 'arbitrary government' so much and so justly found fault with: whereas there is no kingdom [2] (that I know) that hath a settled government, but it hath also a text, or a *corpus juris* of the laws written, save England. So here shall be as great a punishment, as is anywhere, for the breach of the laws, and no text of them for a man's [3] direction. And under favour, I think it were a work

[1] ['by the law . . . in' in marg. Originally written, 'with a king for']
[2] [A word erased before 'kingdom']
[3] ['a man's' originally written 'his']

worthy a Parliament to command some prime lawyers to draw up a body of the common law, and then have it carefully examined by all the judges of the realm, and thoroughly weighed by both Houses, and then have this book declared and confirmed by an Act of Parliament, as containing the fundamental laws of the kingdom. And then let any man go to subvert them at his peril [1].

2. *He hath for the better accomplishment of that his traitorous design, advised and procured divers sermons and other discourses to be preached, printed and published, in which the authority of parliaments, and the force of the laws of this* (57) *kingdom are denied, and an absolute and unlimited power over the persons and estates of his Majesty's subjects is maintained and defended, not only in the King, but also in himself, and other bishops, above and against the law. And he hath been a great protector, favourer and promoter of the publishers of such false and pernicious opinions.*

Ad secundum. I have neither advised nor procured the preaching, printing, or publishing of any sermons, or other discourses, in which the authority of parliaments, and the force of the laws of this kingdom are denied, and an absolute and unlimited power over the persons and estates of his Majesty's subjects maintained and defended. Nay, I have been so far from this, that I have, since I came into place, made stay of divers books, purposely written to maintain 'an absolute power' in the kingdom, and have not suffered them to be printed, as was earnestly desired. And were it fit to bring other men's names in question, and expose their persons to danger, I have some of those tracts by me at this present.

And as I have not 'maintained' this power in the King's Majesty; so much less have I defended this, or any other power 'against law,' either in myself, or 'other bishops,' or any other person whatsoever: nor have I been a protector, favourer, or promoter of any the publishers of such false and pernicious opinions, knowing them to be such men.

[1] ['And since here is (p. 399) . . . peril.' on opposite page.]

152 3. *He hath by letters, messages, threats, promises, and divers other ways, to judges and other ministers of justice, interrupted and perverted, and at other times, by the means aforesaid, hath endeavoured to interrupt and pervert, the course of justice, in his Majesty's Courts at Westminster, and other Courts, to the subversion of the laws of this kingdom; whereby sundry of his Majesty's subjects have been stopped in their just suits, and deprived of their lawful rights, and subjected to his tyrannical will, to their utter ruin and destruction.*

I have neither by letters, messages, threats, nor promises, nor by any other means, endeavoured to interrupt or pervert the course of justice in his Majesty's judges, or other ministers of justice, either to the subversion of the law, or the stopping of the subjects in their just suits: much less, to the ruin or destruction of any one; which God forbid I should ever be guilty of. Ad tertium.

The most that ever I have done in this kind, is this. When some poor clergymen, which have been held in long suits, some seven, nine, twelve years, and one for nineteen years together, have come and besought me with tears, and have scarce had convenient clothing about them to come and make their address; I have sometimes underwritten their petitions to those reverend judges, in whose Courts their suits were, and have fairly desired expedition for them. But I did never desire, by any letter, or subscription, or message, anything for any of them, but that which was according to the law and justice of the realm. And in this particular, I do refer myself to the testimony of the reverend judges of the common law.

4. *That the said Archbishop hath traitorously and corruptly sold justice to those that have had causes depending before him, by colour of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as Archbishop, High Commissioner, Referee, or otherwise; and hath taken unlawful gifts and bribes of his Majesty's subjects: and hath, as much as in him* (58) *lieth, endeavoured to corrupt other courts of justice, by advising* [*and procuring*[g]] *his Majesty to sell places of judicature, and*

[g] Rushw. and Pryn.

other offices, [and procuring the sale of them[h]*,] contrary to the laws and statutes in that behalf.*

Ad quartum.

I did least of all expect this charge. For I have not corruptly sold justice, either as Archbishop, High Commissioner, Referee, or otherwise: nor have I taken any unlawful gift or bribe of any his Majesty's subjects. And though in this Article there is no particular mentioned, more than in the rest; yet I am not ignorant that I have been charged in the House of Commons for taking two pipes of sack from one Mr. Tho. Stone, as a bribe for the abatement of a fine, imposed upon some men of Chester by[1] the High Commission at York: which power of abatement was in me, by virtue of a broad seal[2] granted me to that purpose, bearing date . . . . . 153 Now, because there is no particular known to me but this, belonging to this or[3] any other Article; and because I know not what course the Parliament will hold with me; namely, whether they will produce particulars, or proceed by Bill of Attainder; I will take opportunity here to unfold all that is true in this odious accusation of Stone. And the case is thus:—

Mr. Stone, knowing that these fines with other were given by his Majesty towards the repair of St. Paul's in London, and that the trust of that business, with power to abate any fine, was committed to me, under the broad seal of England, became a very earnest suitor to me in the behalf of these Chester-men, fined at York[k]. And he set divers of his friends and mine upon me, for abatement of this fine; and among others, his own[4] son-in-law, Mr. William Wheat, barrister-at-law, who had been bred under me at St. John's College in Oxford, and Mr. Wheat's brother, Doctor Baylie[l], then Dean

[1] ['by' originally written 'at']
[2] ['bearing date' originally written here and erased.]
[3] ['this or' interlined.]
[4] ['his own' originally written 'his']

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[h] Desunt in Rushw. and Pryn.

[i] All this about Stone is afterward more perfectly related, and so this to be omitted here, according to the Archbishop's direction, p. 159, [p. 413 in note.] Only compare them first together.—W. S. A. C.

The account being short, I thought it better to let it stand here, than to curtail the history, for the sake of one single repetition.—H. W.

[k] [The reason of their being fined is explained afterwards, where the case is more fully stated.]

[l] [The relationship of these parties may be thus explained. William

of Salisbury [m]. In this suit Stone pretended and protested too, that these men owed him two or three thousand pounds (I well remember not whether), and that he should lose it all, if these men's fines were not abated. For they would hide their heads, and never appear again. During this suit, he came twice, if not thrice, to my steward, and told him he had at present excellent sack, and that he would send in two pipes for me. My steward at each time refused his motion, and acquainted me with it (as my command ever was he should do in cases of receiving anything into my house). I at every of these times commanded it should not be received. Mr. Stone then protested to my steward, that he did not offer this as any bribe or gratuity for the business of the Chester-men, but merely as a token of his thankfulness for many and great kindnesses done by me to himself, his son-in-law, and his friend Doctor Baylie. Notwithstanding this, I gave absolute command the sack should not be received.

When Mr. Stone saw this, he found a time to send in the sack when my steward was not in the house, and told my under-servants that my steward was acquainted with it. The next time Mr. Stone came to the house, which (as far as I remember) was the very next day [1], my steward told him, he would send back the sack, and was about to do it (as he after assured me). Then Mr. Stone was very earnest with him, that he would save his credit, and not send the wine back to his disgrace; renewing his former deep protestations, that he had in this no relation at all to the Chester-men's business. Upon this, my steward being acquainted with him, and his fore-named friends, trusted him, and let the wine stay, contrary to my former commands. After all this, this unworthy man put the price of this wine upon the Chester-men's account; as if for that gift I had abated their fine; and so gave them an occasion to complain of me (59) to the Parlia-

[1] ['which . . . day,' in margin.]

Wheat of Coventry married Anne daughter of Abraham Quiney of Stratford-upon-Avon, and relict of Richard Bailey of Lichfield, by whom he had a son and heir, William Wheat of Glympton, Oxon, who married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Thomas Stone, of London.—(Burke's Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies, under the name Wheat).]

[m] [See above, p. 184.]

ment. Whereas both the Chester-men and Mr. Stone himself had before acknowledged, I had used them kindly in the composition for their fine, and wished they had been referred to me for the whole cause. And for my whole carriage in this business, I dare refer myself to the testimony of Mr. Stone's own son-in-law, and Doctor Baylie, who were the chief men whom Mr. Stone employed to[1] me.

Besides, after all this cunning, it will appear by my ser- 154
vants their accounts, that the wine was not brought into my house, in the cunning manner before mentioned, till divers days after I had compounded with the Chester-men for their fine; so a bribe for doing a business it could not be. And upon the whole matter, I am verily persuaded, considering Stone's profession in religion, (for he is a Brownist, or next neighbour to him,) that he did this of set purpose, to see if he could ensnare me in this way.

Lastly, I desire the Lords, and all men that have had anything to do with me, to look upon me in the whole course of my life; wherein they shall find me untainted with so much as the value of sixpence in this base way. And it is not unknown to the world, that for many years together I had opportunities enough to enrich myself by such a way, had I been minded to take that course: whereas now, it is well known, my estate is the meanest of any Archbishop's of Canterbury that hath sat for many years. And having carried it thus along for all my life, I presume no man can be so injurious to me, as to think I would now in mine old age (being sixty-eight when this was charged upon me) sell either my conscience, or my honour, for a morsel of bread or a cup of wine.

And for the other part of this Article. I did never advise his Majesty to sell places of judicature, or other offices, or procure the sale of them contrary to law.

5. *He hath traitorously caused a Book of Canons to be composed and published, and those Canons to be put in execution*[n]*, without any lawful warrant and authority in*

[1] ['to' originally written 'towards']

[n] ['and those . : . execution,'] desunt in Rush. and Pryn.

that behalf. In which pretended Canons many matters are contained contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of this realm, to the right of Parliament, to the propriety and liberty of the subjects, and matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence; and to the establishment of a vast, unlawful, and presumptuous power in himself and his successors: many of the which Canons, by the practice of the said Archbishop, were surreptitiously passed in the last Convocation, without due consideration and debate; others by fear and compulsion were subscribed to by the prelates and clerks there assembled; which had never been voted and passed in the Convocation, as they ought to have been. And the said Archbishop hath contrived and endeavoured to assure and confirm the unlawful and exorbitant power which he hath usurped and exercised over his Majesty's subjects, by a wicked and ungodly oath, in one of the said pretended Canons, enjoined to be taken by all the clergy, and many of the laity of this kingdom.

I composed no Book of Canons: the whole Convocation did it, with unanimous consent. So, either I must be free, or that whole body must be guilty of high treason. For in that crime all are principals that are guilty; accessory there is none. Neither did I publish, or put in execution those Canons, or any of them, but by lawful authority. And I do humbly conceive, and verily believe, there is nothing in those Canons contrary either to 'the (60) King's prerogative, the fundamental laws of the realm, the rights of Parliament, the propriety and liberty of the subjects, or any matter tending to sedition, or of dangerous consequence, or to the establishment of any vast or unlawful power in myself and my successors.'

Ad quintum.

Neither was there any Canon in that Convocation surreptitiously passed by any practice of mine, or without due consideration and debate. Neither was there anything in that Convocation, but what was voted first and subscribed after, without fear or compulsion in any kind. And I am verily persuaded, there never sat any Synod in Christendom, wherein the votes passed with more freedom, or less prac-

tice, than they did in this. And for the oath enjoined in the sixth Canon, as it was never made to confirm any unlawful or exorbitant power over his Majesty's subjects; so I do humbly conceive, that it is no wicked or ungodly oath in any respect. And I hope I am able to make it good in any learned assembly in Christendom, that this oath, and all those Canons (then made and here before recited) and every branch in them, are just and orthodox, and moderate, and most necessary for the present condition of the Church of England; how unwelcome soever to the present distemper.

6. *He hath traitorously assumed to himself a Papal and tyrannical power, both in Ecclesiastical and temporal matters, over his Majesty's subjects in this realm of England, and other places; to the disinherison of the Crown, dishonour of his Majesty, and derogation of his supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters. And the said Archbishop claims the King's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as incident to his episcopal and archiepiscopal office in this kingdom; and doth deny the same to be derived from the Crown of England; which he hath accordingly exercised, to the high contempt of his royal Majesty, and to the destruction* [of divers [o]] *of the King's liege people in their persons and estates.*

Ad sextum. I have not assumed 'Papal or tyrannical power,' in matters ecclesiastical or temporal; to the least disinherison, dishonour, or derogation of his Majesty's supreme authority in matters ecclesiastical or temporal. I never claimed the King's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as incident to my episcopal or archiepiscopal office in this kingdom; nor did I ever deny, that the exercise[1] of my jurisdiction was derived from the Crown of England.

But that which I have said, and do still say, concerning my office and calling, is this,—that my order as a bishop, and my power of jurisdiction, is by Divine apostolical right, and

[1] [Several words here erased so as to be illegible.]

[o] Rush. and Pryn.

unalterable (for aught I know) in the Church of Christ. But all the power I, or any other bishop hath to exercise any the least power, either of order or jurisdiction, within this realm of England, is derived wholly from the Crown; and I conceive it were treasonable to derive it from any other power, foreign or domestic. And for the exercise of this power under his Majesty, I have not used it to the
156 contempt, but to the great advantage of his royal person, and to the preservation, not the destruction of his people. Both which appear already by the great distractions, fears, and troubles, which all men are in since my restraint; and which (for aught I yet see) are like to increase, if God be not exceeding merciful above our deserts.

7. *That he hath traitorously endeavoured to alter and subvert God's true religion by law established in this realm; and instead thereof to set up Popish superstition and idolatry; and to that end hath declared and maintained in speeches and printed books divers Popish doctrines and opinions, contrary to the Articles of Religion established* [*by law*[p]]. *He hath* (61) *urged and enjoined divers Popish and superstitious ceremonies, without any warrant of law, and hath cruelly persecuted those who have opposed the same, by corporal punishment and imprisonment; and most unjustly vexed others who refused to conform thereto, by ecclesiastical censures of excommunication, suspension, deprivation, and degradation; contrary to the law of the kingdom.*

I never endeavoured to alter or subvert God's true religion established by law in this kingdom; or to bring in Romish superstition. Neither have I declared, maintained, or printed any Popish doctrine, or opinion, contrary to the Articles of Religion established, or any one of them, either to the end mentioned in this Article, or any other. Ad septim.

I have neither urged nor enjoined any Popish or superstitious ceremonies without warrant of law; nor have I cruelly persecuted any opposers of them. But all that I laboured for in this particular was, that the external

[p] Rushw. and Pryn.

worship of God in this Church might be kept up in uniformity and decency, and in some beauty of holiness. And this the rather, because, first[1], I found that with the contempt of the outward worship of God, the inward fell away apace, and profaneness began boldly to show itself. And secondly, because I could speak with no conscientious persons almost, that were wavering in religion, but the great motive which wrought upon them to disaffect, or think meanly of the Church of England, was, that the external worship of God was so lost in the Church (as they conceived it), and the churches themselves, and all things in them, suffered to lie in such a base and slovenly fashion in most places of the kingdom. These, and no other considerations, moved me to take such care as I did of it; which was with a single eye, and most free from any Romish superstition in anything.

As for ceremonies; all that I enjoined, were according to law. And if any were superstitious, I enjoined them not. As for those which are so called by some men, they are no innovations, but restorations of the ancient approved ceremonies, in, and from the beginning of the Reformation, and settled either by law or custom; till the faction of such as now openly and avowedly separate from the Church of England, did oppose them, and cry them down. And for the censures which I put upon any, I presume they will to all indifferent men, which will understandingly and patiently 157
hear the cause, appear to be just, moderate, and according to law.

8. *That for the better advancing of his traitorous purpose and designs, he did abuse the great power and trust his Majesty reposed in him; and did intrude upon the places of divers great officers, and upon the right of divers*[q] *his Majesty's subjects; whereby he did procure to himself the nomination of sundry persons to ecclesiastical dignities, promotions, and benefices, belonging to his Majesty, and divers of the nobility, clergy, and others; and hath taken upon him the nomination*[r] *of chaplains to the King; by*

[1] ['first,' interlined.]

[q] 'other' Rushw. and Pryn.

[r] 'commendation' Rushw. and Pryn.

which means he hath preferred to his Majesty's service, and to other great promotions in the Church, such as have been popishly affected, or otherwise unsound and corrupt both in doctrine and manners.

I did never wittingly abuse the power or trust which his Majesty reposed in me. Nor did I ever intrude upon the places of any great officers, or others, to procure to myself the nomination of persons ecclesiastical, to dignities, promotions, and (62) benefices, belonging to his Majesty, the nobility, or any other. And though here be no particular named, yet I guess at that which is meant, and will clearly set down the truth. Ad octavum.

His Majesty, some few years since, assumed to himself, from the Right Honourable the Lord Coventry, the Lord Keeper that then was, and from my Lord Cottington, then Master of the Court of Wards, the disposing of[1] all such benefices as came to the King's gift by title of wardship, of what value soever they were. The reason which moved his Majesty to do this was: The Lord Keeper and the Lord Cottington became humble suitors to him, to end a contention between them, about the giving of those benefices, both for their own quiet, and the peace of other his Majesty's subjects. For the course was, when anything fell void in the gift of a ward, he of these two great officers which came first to know of the avoidance, gave the living. This caused great, and oft-times undue, practising among them which were suitors for the benefices. And many times the broad seal, and the seal of the Court of Wards, bore date the same day. And then the bishop, which clerk soever he instituted, was sure to offend the other lord. And these lords too[2] many times, by the earnest putting on of friends, were not well pleased one with another in the business. Upon this suit of their own, his Majesty gave a hearing to these lords; and in conclusion of it, took the disposal of all such benefices into his own hands, and (for aught I know) with both their liking and content. In the disposing of these benefices to such men as had served his Majesty at sea, or otherwise, I was trusted

[1] ['the disposing of' in marg.]
[2] ['these lords too' interlined.]

by the King; and I served him in it faithfully; but proceeded no further, nor otherwise, than[1] he directed and commanded me. But I never took the 'nomination' of any one to myself, or my own disposing. And the truth of this, as his Majesty knows, so I am confident my Lord Cottington, who is yet living, will witness.

For 'the nomination of chaplains to the King,' if I had 158
done it, I think the work was as proper for the Archbishop, as for any man. Yet, because by ancient custom it was conceived to belong in a great part to the Lord Chamberlain, (who was then the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke,) I never named any to his Majesty, but I did fairly acquaint the Lord Chamberlain with it, and desired his favour[s]. But in all my time I never was the means to prefer any man to his Majesty's service, as a chaplain, or to any promotion, whom I knew to be popishly affected, or any way corrupt in doctrine or manners.

9. *He hath, for the same traitorous and wicked intent, chosen and employed such men to be his* [*own* domestical[t]] *chaplains, whom he knew to be notoriously disaffected to the reformed religion, grossly addicted to Popish superstition, and erroneous and unsound both in judgment and in practice. And to them, or some of them, he hath committed licensing of books to be printed; by which means divers false and superstitious books have been published, to the great scandal of religion, and to the seducing of many of his Majesty's subjects.*

Ad nonum. I never chose any man to be my chaplain, who I knew, or had good cause to suspect, was popishly[2] affected; nor any that was unsound in judgment or practice. Nor did I commit the licensing of books to any such, but to those only, who I then did, and do still believe, are orthodox and religious divines, and men of very good judgment for that necessary and great service. And if they, or any of them,

[1] ['I was . . . . than' on opposite page. Originally written, 'I served his Majesty in that way, and so far as']

[2] [Originally written, 'a Ro' (*sic.*)]

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[s] [See *e.g.* a letter of the Archbishop to the Earl of Pembroke, in favour of Dr. Oliver. Sept. 25, 1640.]

[t] Pryn and Rushworth.

have, by negligence or otherwise, suffered any erroneous and dangerous books[1] (63) to pass the press, they must answer both the Church and the State, for whatsoever they have done amiss in that kind; for it is not possible for the Archbishop to perform[2] all those services in person. And in the committing of them to my chaplains, and other divines of note, I have done no new thing, but that which my predecessors have done before me.

This I am sure of: I gave often and express and strict command to all and every of them, that they should license nothing that was contrary to the doctrine and discipline established in the Church of England, or might personally or otherwise give offence or distaste. And I hope they have obeyed my directions; if not, they must answer for themselves.

10. *He hath traitorously and wickedly endeavoured to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome. And for the effecting thereof, hath consorted and confederated with divers Popish priests and Jesuits, and hath kept secret intelligence with the Pope of Rome; and by himself, his agents and instruments, treated with such as have from thence received authority and instruction. He hath permitted and countenanced a Popish hierarchy, or ecclesiastical government, to be established in this kingdom. By all which traitorous and malicious practices this Church and kingdom have been exceedingly endangered, and like to fall under the tyranny of the Roman See.*

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The Article is now come of which I spake before[u], and in my answer to which I promised to set down the substance of that which I spake in the Parliament House to the Lords, when this general charge was brought up against me; and I shall somewhat enlarge it[3], yet without any change of the grounds upon which I then stood. And now I shall perform

Ad decimum.

[1] ['books' originally written 'works']
[2] ['to perform' interlined.]
[3] ['I shall somewhat enlarge it,' originally written, 'and somewhat to enlarge it,']

[u] P. 56 [of orig. MS. See above, p. 397].

that promise. And I shall be of all other least afraid to answer all that is here said concerning religion. For my heart (I bless God for it) is sound that way, to the uttermost of my knowledge; and I think I do well understand my principles. And my old master, Aristotle, hath taught me long since, that *Qui se bene habent ad divina, audaciores sunt*[v]; They which are well and settledly composed in things pertaining to God, (that is, in religion,) are much the bolder by it; and this not only against slanders and imputations cast upon men for this, but in all other accidents of the world, whatever they be.

And surely I may not deny it: I have ever wished, and heartily prayed for, the unity of the whole Church of Christ, and the peace and reconciliation of torn and divided Christendom. But I did never desire a reconciliation, but such as might stand with truth, and preserve all the foundations of religion entire. For I have learned from a prime Schoolman of their own, that "every union doth not perfect the true reason or definition of that which is good; but that only, upon which depends *esse perfectum rei*, the perfect essence of that thing[x]." So that in this particular, if the substance of Christian religion be not perfected by any union, that union itself cannot have in it *rationem boni*, the true being and nature of good. And therefore I did never desire that England and Rome should meet together, but with forsaking of error and superstition; especially such as grate upon and fret the foundations of religion. But were this done, God forbid, but I should labour for a reconciliation; if some tenets of the Roman party, on the one side, and some deep and embittered disaffections, on the other, have not made it impossible, as I much doubt they have. But that I should practise with Rome as now it stands, and to that end should confederate with priests and Jesuits; or hold secret intelligence with the Pope; or treat with him, or any instruments authorized by him, or by any agents, is utterly untrue; as I hope may fully appear by that which follows[y].

[v] [(Θαρραλέοι εἰσὶν) ἂν τὰ πρὸς Θεοὺς αὐτοῖς καλῶς ἔχῃ.—Arist. lib. ii. Rhetor. c. 5. [§ 21.]

[x] "Non omnis unio perficit rationem boni, sed solum illa, a qua dependet esse perfectum rei."—[S.] Tho. [Aquin. Summ. Theol.] i. 2, q. 36, Art. 3 ad quint. [*leg.* primum.]

[y] [The Archbishop has here written on the opposite page, 'His. par. 2. Here the History goes on *à* p. 63. And] I find that some things in my

(64) And first, (in hope that they which have observed my life in times past will give me credit in this time of my affliction,) I do here make my solemn protestation, in the presence of God and this great Court, that I am innocent of anything, greater or less, that is charged in this Article or any part of it. And I do here offer my corporal oath, (please it the Lords to give it me,) in the strictest form that any oath can be conceived, that I am wholly innocent of this charge. And let nothing be tendered against me but truth, and I do challenge whatsoever is between heaven and hell to come in and witness whatsoever they can against me in this particular. For all that I have feared in all this charge against me is not guilt, but subornation of perjury, against which innocency itself cannot be safe. And I have found the deadly hatred of some men against me to be such, as that, though I cannot suspect the House of Commons of such an irreligious baseness, yet I have great cause to suspect some particular men, which I see make no conscience of the way, so they may compass their end. 1.

Secondly; Should I practise (be it with whom you will) to superinduce 'Romish tyranny and superstition' over the true religion established in England, I have taken a very wrong way to it. For I have hindered as many[1] from going to the 2.

[1] [The Archbishop here adds, in a marg. note afterwards erased:
'As namely, Mr. Digby, a priest, who lives, now a minister, in Northamptonshire.
'Mr. James Gentleman, a very good scholar, and since in orders, and beneficed by my procurement in Kent.
'Sir Wi. Spencer. He afterwards fell away; but that was after he was gone from me.
'The Lord Maio, of Ireland, brought to me by Mr. Gifford.
'Two daughters of Sir Rich. Lechford, that were going to be nuns. I stayed them, and they remain good Protestants.
'A doctor of the civil law, whose name I spare, that I may not prejudice his person.
'Sir Wi. Webb. Two of his daughters, and his eldest son.
'Mr. Christopher Seaburn, brought to me by Mr. Connisby, of Herefordshire.
'Mr. Wi. Chillingworth, who was gone to Doway; and I recovered him back, and settled him in the Church of England, as I have letters to show under his own hand.
'Two young scholars of St. John's, in Cambridge. They both continue constant to the Church of England; and Topping is at this day Fellow of the

general answer to the Articles are repeated again in the beginning of my particular answers, when my trial came on. I desire (for I had no time to do it myself) that, to avoid tediousness, all those may be left out of the first answer that are perfected in the second. —W. Cant.

I would not adventure to mangle and disjoint the History: the reader (if he so pleaseth) may pass by such repetitions.—H. W.

Roman party, and have reduced as many from it,—and some of great quality, and some of great learning and judgment,—as I believe any divine in England hath done. And is this the way to bring in 'Romish superstition,' to reduce men from it? Or is this the reward from the State, which men must look for that have done these services?

3. Thirdly; The book which I have written against Mr. Fisher the Jesuit, must of necessity either acquit me of this calumny, or proclaim me a villain to the world. And I hope I have so lived, as that men have not that opinion of me; sure I am I have not deserved it. And had this book of mine been written according to the garb of the time, fuller of railing than reason, a learned Jesuit would have laughed at it and me; and a learned Protestant might have thought I had written it only to conceal myself and my judgment in those difficulties. But being written in the way it is, I believe no Romanist will have much cause to joy at it, or to think me a favourer of their cause. And since I am thus put to it, I will say thus much more. This book of mine is so written (by God's great blessing upon me) as that whensoever the Church of England (as they are growing towards it apace) shall depart from the grounds which I have therein laid, she shall never be able, before any learned and disengaged Christian[1], to make good her difference with, and her separation from, the Church of Rome. And let no man think I speak pride

house, and a man of very good worth. And I have all the papers by me of that business.

'The L. Duke of Buckingham her son. She had made waver in religion, and set Mr. Fisher and other Jesuits upon him; but I thank God I took off all his scruples, and he continued a knowing and a resolved Protestant to (the instant of [these words erased]) his death. And for this King James, of ever blessed memory, honoured me so far as to give me thanks.

'And for the young L. Duke of Buckingham his son, what care I took to settle his education, and make it safe, I have to show under a very good hand, and with remarkable circumstances; though I make no doubt but the right hon. lady, his mother, will freely acknowledge it.

'And when my L. Marquis Hamilton told me his lady was disturbed in mind and began to be unsettled in religion, though I could not then attend that business myself (as my L. well knew), yet I directed his Lp. what person to use, and what way should be taken. And I thank God it succeeded. Her consumption continued some time, but she lived a settled Protestant of the Church of England, and died in great peace of mind and conscience.

'My acquaintance with Sir Kenelm Digby began when he was a Protestant, and when I heard out of France (where he then was), that he was changing back to the Roman party, I was the first man that challenged him for it. And the letter which hereupon he sent to me, and my answer to him, (both which I have by me,) will evidence both my fidelity and care in this behalf.']

[1] ['learned and disengaged Christian,' originally written, 'learned Christian,']

or vanity[1] in this. For the outrages which have been against me force me to say it; and I am confident future times will make it good, unless profaneness break in and overrun the whole kingdom, which is not a little to be feared[2].

(65) Fourthly; I must confess, I am in this particular most unfortunate. For many recusants in England, and many of that party beyond the seas, think I have done them and their cause more harm, than they which have seemed more fierce against them. And I doubt not, but I shall be able to prove, that I have been accounted beyond sea the greatest enemy to them that ever sat in my place. And shall I suffer on both sides? Shall I be accounted an enemy by one part for opposing the papist, and accused for a traitor by the other 161 for favouring and complying with them? Well, if I do suffer thus, 'tis but because truth usually lies between two extremes[3], and is beaten by both (as the poor Church of England is, at this day[4], by the papist and the separatist). But in this, and all things else, in despite of all malice, truth shall be either my protection from suffering, or my comfort while I suffer; and by God's gracious assistance I shall never depart from it, but continue at the Apostle's ward, 2 Cor. xiii.[z] *Nihil possum contra veritatem,* I can do nothing against the truth; and for it, I hope God will enable me patiently to suffer anything. 4.

Fifthly; If I had practised with the Pope or his agents for the alteration of religion in England, surely I must have used many great and dexterous instruments to compass my end. And in a business of so great consequence, difficulty, 5.

[1] [The Archbishop here wrote in marg., but afterwards erased:—
'I might perhaps be thought guilty of both, should I [have] ever published to any [one the] testimonies which [were giv]en to this book [by] Dr. Usher, Ld. Primate of Armagh, and his earnest desire to have it translated into Latin; by Dr. Hall, Ld. Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Mountagu, Ld. Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Morton, Ld. Bishop of Durham, Dr. Pearce, Ld. Bp. of Bath and Wells, Dr. Skinner, Ld. Bp. of Bristol, Dr. Bancroft, L. Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Wedderburne, Ld. Bp. of Dumblane, Dr. Sinserf (*sic*), L. Bp. of Galloway, Dr. Bramhall, L. Bp. of Derry, Dr. Chappell, Ld. Bp. of Corke, Dr. Beedle, L. Bp. of Kilmore; by twelve other doctors, of great learning and worth, in the Church of England; and by Sir Wi. Boswell, his Majesty's learned agent in the Low Countries, not only in his own name, but in the name of divers Dutch divines and gentlemen, which understand the English tongue, all whose testimonies I have by me in writings under their own hand, if any man should doubt the truth of this relation.']

[2] ['unless . . . feared.' inserted afterwards.]

[3] ['extremes,' originally written, 'sides,']

[4] ['between them' erased.]

[z] 2 Cor. xiii. 8.

and danger to all that should have a hand, nay, but a finger, in it, no man would venture to meddle without good pay. And 'tis well known, that I have filled no purse, nor laid up any store, to set ill instruments on work, upon that, or any other unworthy design.

6. Sixthly; I am a man in years, great years for a man so loaded with business as I have been all my life; and it cannot be long before I must go to give God Almighty an account of all my actions. And whatsoever the malignity of the time may put upon me, yet they which know me and my ways will easily believe, that I have not so little conscience, or care of my soul, as to double with God to my very death. Nay, could I have doubled thus, I could easily have seen a way through all this difficulty; and how to have been as gracious with the people as any, even the worst, of my predecessors. But I have ever held that the lowest depth of baseness, to frame religion to serve turns, and to be carried about with every wind of vain doctrine, to serve and please other men's fancies, and not a man's own either understanding or conscience.

7. Seventhly; I think the greatest enemies I have are of opinion, that if I would have turned to the Roman party, especially if I would have been such an active instrument for them, as this Article would make me, I might have been welcome to them[1], and should have been rewarded by them[2]; at least, that I should have been made able to live in credit, if not in honour. And this being granted, I would fain know, what could stay me here, save only my conscience in and to the truth.

Surely, not any care of wife and children, for I have them not; and as this storm drives upon me, I most humbly and heartily bless God for it, that I have not any of these clogs to hang about me.

Not the greatness[3] of my place; for if in this present tumble anything be put either upon it or me, that a knowing conscience ought to check at, the world shall soon see how little I value Canterbury in regard of conscience.

Not the honour of my place neither; for if I stood upon

[1] ['to them,' interlined.] [2] ['by them;' interlined.]
[3] ['greatness' originally written 'honour']

that, I cannot but see how malice hath laid that in the dust, or lower if it may be[1]. And can any man think then, that I would endure so much hatred, and so (66) many base libels, as have filled the streets against me, and such bitter revilings of me in print, as the gall of some pens have cast upon me, when I might go live elsewhere with content and reputation? Sure nothing but conscience could stay me here in such a condition.

162 Not the wealth to be gotten in my place; for the archbishopric of Canterbury is far short of the value put upon it, (according as I have given a faithful account to his Majesty). And if it were of never so great a value, I have made it manifest to the world, that wealth is not my aim. For whatsoever benefit hath accrued to me, over and above my necessary and decent expenses, I have refunded back upon the poor, or the public, or the Church from whence I had it; as in better times churchmen were wont to do. So there could be no external motive to work upon me, to make me stay here, if my conscience went along with Rome. And my conscience being not that[2] way set, (as most certainly it is not,) no man can so much as probably think I should, with hazard of my life, and honour, and all things, practise the change of religion, and that against my conscience.

Eighthly; This scandalous false report, that I should negotiate with the Pope and with Rome for the change of religion in this kingdom, was first spread by the Scots, who shamelessly printed it in these words: 'Canterbury did negotiate with Rome about the frame of our Service-book and Canons,' &c.[a] Now, if this be false, why did they print it? and if it be true, why do they desert it? It comes a great deal more home, than double all else they have said against me. And yet it seems, when they had considered better of it, and found they could not make it good, they left it quite out of those Articles which they preferred into the Parliament of England against me. And I presume, they would never have left that out which they had published in print to the world, could they have gotten any show of proof. Immediately upon the

[1] ['if it may be.' in marg.]
[2] ['And my ... that' originally written, 'And if my conscience be not that']

[a] In a book intituled, "The Remonstrance of the Nobility, Barons, Burgesses, Ministers, and Commons within the Kingdom of Scotland, Feb. 27, 1639," p. 12. Edinburgh.

arrival of this pamphlet in England, court, city, and country grew presently full of it, that the Archbishop of Canterbury had negotiated with Rome about the alteration of religion. And since they have thus defamed me, and that in print, I do challenge Mr. Alexander Henderson[1] (who doubtless was either sole author of that 'Remonstrance,' or had a great hand in it) either to make it good against me, or by like[2] public acknowledgment of it in print, give me satisfaction for so foul a calumny; or to answer me, when I shall not fail to challenge him for it, at the bar of Christ.

9. Lastly; I received information out of Holland[3], when his Majesty was last in the North, that there was a plot laid of a dangerous treason against his Majesty's life; that this treason was plotted here in England by Signior Con and his complices; and that these contrivers took a deep dislike against me, because they could not get within me, nor make me pliable to their projects about religion; and that they were so angry with me for it, as that they resolved my life must be first taken away, before they could hope to get their will of the King. This advertisement came to me from one that professed he was in the bosom of Con, and knew all the secrets of his employments hither. This business was first made known under an oath of secresy (as I remember) to Sir Wi. Boswell, his Majesty's agent in Holland; and it was ordered between them[4] that his papers should be sent over sealed to me, as they were, and that by an express; and a charge to deliver them to no hand but mine, as he tendered the King's safety, in regard so many great men were (as he 163
said) in the treason. I sent away these letters and papers to his Majesty's own hands, and received direction, what answer I should give to Sir Wi. Boswell. (67) At his Majesty's return, at the beginning of this Parliament, he named a committee of Lords to hear this business, and commanded me to bring the papers thither. This I did, and they were all read before his Majesty and the committee. Sir Wi. Boswell's letters and the other papers[b] are yet all in my

[1] ['to make it' here originally inserted, and erased.]
[2] ['like' interlined.]
[3] ['out of Holland,' interlined.]
[4] ['it was . . . them' in marg.]

[b] These papers were taken from the Archbishop by Pryn, 1643, May 31, and shortly after published in a pamphlet intituled, "Rome's Masterpiece."

hands; but it seems the particulars could not all be got out. Now, this is a hard strait into which I am cast. The Pope's agent (as 'tis said) plots my death on the one side, because I will not be wrought upon to help to bring in the Roman superstition; and the Parliament on the other side articles to overthrow me, out of a jealousy that I go about to bring it in. So that I am in the prophet David's case, Ps. xxxi.[c], 'For I' also 'have heard the blasphemy of the multitude, and fear is on every side, while they conspire together against me, and take their counsel to take away my life. But my hope hath been,' and is, 'in Thee, O Lord.'

And for the latter part of this Article, it is utterly untrue, that ever I either permitted or countenanced any Popish hierarchy or ecclesiastical government to be established in this kingdom; and if any such be established, it is more than I know to this instant. But this I am sure of, and can prove, that when the Queen's Almoner was to be made a bishop, I laboured as much against it as I could[d]; whereupon he delayed the taking of his bishopric upon him for a good time. And when divers offers were made on his behalf, and the Queen grew earnest for his preferment, I was called again by his Majesty in the presence of a Secretary of State, and commanded to speak my judgment and my conscience. And I did so; and declared clearly against any bishop of the Roman party his coming into the kingdom to reside, or exercise any jurisdiction here. And I gave then for my reason, the very self-same which is since published by the House of Commons in their Remonstrance[e]; 'a different and inconsistent Church within a Church, which ever brought hazard upon the State.' And in this judgment I persisted, and never permitted, much less countenanced, any 'Popish hierarchy' to settle in this kingdom, but hindered it by all the ways and means I could[1].

[1] ['David's case (lin. 8.) . . . means I could.' on opposite page.]

—H. W. [This will appear in vol. vi. with the Archbishop's marg. notes.]

[c] Ps. xxxi. 15, 16.

[d] [Du Plessis, Bp. of Mende, first accompanied the Queen as Almoner (see vol. i. p. 62); on his removal, Bertaut, Bishop of Bazas, was appointed to the office, but was not allowed to enter England; (Birch's Charles I. vol. ii. pp. 298, 299;) when it was conferred on James Du Perron, (the person referred to in the text,) afterwards Bp. of Angoulême.]

[e] ["A] Remonst[rance of the State of the Kingdom,"] die Mercurii, 15 Decemb. 1641, p. 20, [p. 14 of the edit. by Jos. Hunscutt. Lond. 1641.]

11. *He in his own person, and his suffragans, visitors, surrogates, chancellors, or other officers, by his command, have caused divers learned, pious, and orthodox preachers*[f] *of God's word, to be silenced, suspended, deprived, degraded, excommunicated, or otherwise grieved and vexed, without any just and lawful cause; whereby, and by divers other means, he hath hindered the preaching of God's word, caused divers of his Majesty's loyal subjects to forsake the kingdom, and increased and cherished ignorance and profaneness amongst the people, that so he might the better facilitate the way to the effecting of his ow. wicked and traitorous designs*[g] *of altering and corrupting the true religion here established.*

Ad undecimum. I have neither by myself, nor by command to my officers, silenced, suspended, deprived, degraded, or excommunicated 164 any learned, pious, and orthodox preachers, nor any other, but upon just cause proved in court, and according to law. And I think it will appear, that as few (be the cause never so just) have been suspended or deprived in my diocese, as in any diocese in England. Nor have I by these suspensions hindered the preaching of God's word, but of schism and sedition; as now appears plainly by the sermons frequently made in London, since the time of liberty given and taken since this Parliament. Nor have I caused any of his Majesty's subjects to forsake the kingdom; but they forsook it of themselves, being separatists from the Church of England, as is more than manifest to any man that will but consider what kind of persons went to New England.

And whereas in their late Remonstrance[h] they say, 'The High Commission grew to such excess of sharpness and severity, as was not much less than the Romish Inquisition; and yet in many cases, by the Archbishop's power, was made much more heavy, being assisted and strengthened by authority of the Council-table;' I was much troubled at it, that such an imputation from so great a body should be fastened on me. And therefore first I considered, that my predecessors were all, or most of them, strengthened with the same authority of the Council-table, that I was; and therefore, if

[f] 'ministers' Rushw. and Pryn.
[g] 'design' Rushw. and Pryn.
[h] Remonstr. die Mercurii, 15 Decemb. 1641, p. 14. [p. 11.]

I did use that authority to worse ends, or in a worse manner, than they did, I was the more to blame. Therefore, to satisfy myself and others in this particular, I did in the next place cause a diligent search to be made in the Acts of that court (which can deceive no man), what suspensions[1], deprivations, or other punishments, had passed in the seven years of my time before my commitment. Then I compared them with every of the three seven years of my immediate predecessor, (for so long he sat, and somewhat over, and was in great esteem with the House of Commons all his time,) and I find more by three suspended, deprived, or degraded, in every seven years of his time, than in the seven ye[2] (68) of my time so cried out upon (as you see) for 'sharpness and severity,' even to the equalling of that Commission almost to the Romish Inquisition. So safe a thing it is for a man to embark himself into a potent faction; and so hard for any other man, be he never so entire, to withstand its violence[3].

12. *He hath traitorously endeavoured to cause division and discord between the Church of England and other reformed Churches; and to that end hath suppressed and abrogated the privileges and immunities which have been by his Majesty and his royal ancestors granted to the French and Dutch Churches in this kingdom, and divers other ways hath expressed his malice and disaffection to these Churches; that so by such disunion[1] the Papists might have more advantage for the overthrow and extirpation of both.*

Ad duodecimum.

I never endeavoured to set division between the Church of England and other reformed Churches; and if I had so done, it had been a very unchristian and unworthy act, but yet no treason, as I conceive. And for the privileges and immunities granted by his Majesty and his royal progenitors to the French and Dutch Churches in this kingdom, I did not seek to suppress or abrogate any of them which kept

[1] ['suspensions,' originally written, 'fines, suspensions,']
[2] ['Commission' interlined.]
[3] ['withstand its violence.' inserted afterwards in margin.]

[1] 'distinction' Rushw.; 'disunion' Pryn.

conform to their first toleration here; much less did I labour by any disunion betwixt them and us to advantage the Papists, to the overthrow of both. But this I found, that they did not use their privileges with that gratitude and fairness to his Majesty, the State, and Church of England, as they ought to have done. And hereupon I acquainted his Majesty and the Lords, in full and open council, with what I conceived concerning that business; as, namely,—

1. That their living as they did, and standing so strictly to their own discipline, wrought upon the party in England which were addicted to them, and made them more averse, than otherwise they would have been, to the present government of the Church of England.

2. That by this means they lived in England as if they were a kind of God's Israel in Egypt, to the great dishonour of the Church of England, to which at first they fled for shelter against persecution. And in that time of their danger, the Church of England was in their esteem not only a true, but a glorious Church. But by this favour which that Church received, it grew up and incroached upon us, till it became a Church within a Church, and a kind of State within a State. And this I ever held dangerous, how small beginning soever it had, and that upon two main reasons. The one, because I find the wisdom of God against it; for He says plainly to His prime people, 'One law' (and especially for Divine worship) 'shall be to him that is home-born, and to the stranger that sojourns among you,' Exod. xii.[j] And the other, because I find the wisdom of this State against it; for this Parliament, in their Remonstrance, give the selfsame reason against the Papists, but[k] must hold good against all sects that labour to make strong and enlarge themselves. The words are these:—'Another State moulded within this State, independent in government, contrary in interest and affection, secretly corrupting the ignorant or negligent professors of our religion, and closely uniting and combining themselves against such as are sound, in this posture waiting for an opportunity[l],' &c. And the words are as true of the one faction as the other; and I ever pressed the argument

[j] Exod. xii. 49.

[k] 'which'

[l] Remonst. die Mercurii, 15 Decemb. 1641, p. 20. [p. 14.]

alike against both, as I can prove by good witness, if need be. And I pray God this faction, too little feared and too much nourished among us, have not now found the opportunity waited for.

(69) 3. That they live here, and enjoy all freedom, and yet for the most part scorn so much as to learn the language, or to converse with any, more than for advantage of bargaining. And will take no Englishman to be their apprentice, nor teach them any of their manufactures; which I did then, and do still, think most unreasonable.

4. That for religion, if after so many descents of their children born in the land, and so native subjects, these
166 children of theirs should refuse to pray and communicate with the Church of England, into whose bosom their parents fled at first for succour; I thought then, and do still, that no State could with safety, or would in wisdom, endure it. And this concerning their children was all that was desired by me; as appears by the Act[m] which my Vicar-general made concerning those Churches at Canterbury, Sandwich, and Maidstone, in my diocese, and the publication[n] of this Act in their congregations, by their own ministers, in this form following:—

'I am commanded to signify unto you, that it is not his Majesty's intent, nor of the Council of State, to dissolve our congregations. And to that end, his Majesty is content to permit the natives of the first degree to continue members of our congregations as before. But the natives in this Church, after the first descent, are enjoined to obey my Lord Archbishop his injunction; which is, to conform themselves to the English discipline and Liturgy, every one in his parish; without inhibiting them, notwithstanding, from resorting sometimes to our assemblies.

'And my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury means, notwithstanding, that the said natives shall continue to contribute to the maintenance of the ministry and poor of this Church, for the better subsisting thereof; and promiseth to obtain an order from the Council, if need be, and they require it, to maintain them in their manufactures, against those which would trouble them by informations.'

[m] 26 Septemb. 1635. [n] 11 Octob. 1635.

Now, that which[1] I enjoined the French and Dutch Churches, was to a syllable all one with this, in all parts of my province where these Churches resided; as at Southampton and Norwich. And I have a letter[o] to show, full of thanks, from the ministers and elders of the French and Walloon Churches at Norwich. All which is far from an endeavour to suppress any just privileges and immunities which these Churches had in England, or ought to have in any well-governed kingdom.

And since this time I have not only seen, but gotten, the very original letter of Queen Elizabeth of happy memory, written to the Lord Treasurer Pawlet[p], specifying what order she would should be taken with and for these Churches. The letter is signed with her Majesty's[2] own hand and signet; and gives them not half so much liberty, I do not say as they take, but as I have been ever most content to give them. For the Queen in these letters allows them nothing contrary to her laws; and therefore nothing but our Liturgy in their own language, not another form of Divine service and discipline, much different from it. This was the wisdom of those times, which I pray God we may follow. The Queen's letter follows in these words:—

'Elizabeth.

'Right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, we greet you well. Whereas in the time of our brother, and sister also, the church of the late Augustine Friars was appointed to the use of all the strangers repairing to the city of London, for to have therein Divine service; considering that by an universal 167
order, all the rest of the churches have the Divine Service in the English tongue, for the better edifying of the people, which the strangers born understand not: Our pleasure is, that you shall assign and (70) deliver the said church, and all things thereto belonging, to the Reverend Father in God, the Bishop of London, to be appointed to such curates and ministers as he shall think good, to serve from time to time in the same

[1] ['that which' originally written, 'the act which']
[2] ['Majesty's' in margin.]

[o] Dat. Sept. 14, 1635. [p] [William Pawlett, first Marquis of Winchester.]

churches, both for daily Divine service, and for administration of the sacraments, and preaching of the Gospel: so as no rite nor use be therein observed contrary or derogatory to our laws. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster, the . . . . of February, the second year of our reign.

'To our trusty and right well beloved cousin and counsellor, the Marquess of Winchester, High Treasurer of England.'

13. *He hath maliciously and traitorously plotted, and endeavoured to stir up war and enmity betwixt his Majesty's two kingdoms of England and Scotland; and to that purpose hath laboured to introduce into the kingdom of Scotland divers innovations both in religion and government, all or the most part tending to Popery and superstition, to the great grievance and discontent of his Majesty's subjects of that nation. And for their refusing to submit to such innovations, he did traitorously advise his Majesty to subdue them by force of arms; and by his own authority and power, contrary to law, did procure sundry of his Majesty's subjects, and enforced the clergy of this kingdom, to contribute toward the maintenance of that war. And when his Majesty, with much wisdom and justice, had made a pacification betwixt the two kingdoms, the said Archbishop did presumptuously censure that pacification, as dishonourable to his Majesty; and incense*[q] *his Majesty against his said subjects of Scotland, that he did thereupon, by advice of the said Archbishop, enter into an offensive war against them, to the great hazard of his Majesty's person, and his subjects of both kingdoms.*

I did not endeavour to stir up war between his Majesty's two kingdoms of England and Scotland; but my counsels were for peace, as may appear by the counsel which I gave at Theobalds, in the beginning of these unhappy differences. For there my counsel only put a stay upon the business, in hope his Majesty might have a better issue without than with a war. And if I were mistaken in this counsel, yet it agreed Ad 13.

[q] ['and by his counsel and endeavour so incensed' Pryn and Rushw]

well with my profession and with the cause, which was differences in religion, which I conceived might better be composed by ink than by blood. And I think it cannot easily be 168
forgotten that I gave this counsel; for my Ld. the E. of Arundel[r] opposed me openly at the table then, and said my grounds would deceive me. And my Ld. the E. of Holland[s] came to me, so soon as we were risen from counsel, and was pleased to say to me, that I had done myself and my calling a great deal of right, and the King my master the best service that ever I did him in my life. And Mr. Patrick Male[t], of his Majesty's bedchamber, when he heard what I had done, came and gave me a great deal of thanks in the name of that nation.

Nor did I labour to introduce into the kingdom of Scotland any innovations in religion or government: neither do all, (71) or the most part, or indeed any of those pretended innovations, tend to Popery or superstition, as hath before been sufficiently proved. Neither did I, upon their refusal to submit to these, advise his Majesty to subdue them by force of arms; but the counsels which I gave were open, either at the Committee or the Council-table. Neither did I, by my own power and authority, contrary to law, procure any of his Majesty's subjects[1], or enforce the clergy of England to contribute to the maintenance of that war; but the subsidies which were given to his Majesty at that time, were given freely and in open Convocation, and without any practice of myself or any other, as appears by what I have formerly[u] laid down.

But because so much noise hath been made against me, both in the Scottish Charge before answered, and in this Article about Popish innovations in that Service-book, and that I laboured the introducing both of it and them; I think it fit, if not necessary, to set down briefly the story what was done, and what I did, and by what command, in all that business. And it follows[v]:—

[1] ['subjects' interlined.]

[r] [See above, p. 283.]

[s] [See above, p. 284.]

[t] Maule. [He continued in attendance on the King through all his troubles.]

[u] P. 9 [of original MS. See above, p. 286.]

[v] [The original draught of this is in Lamb. MSS. Numb. 943; from which it is printed in Prynne's 'Hidden Works,' p. 155.]

Dr. John Maxwell, the late Bishop of Ross, came to me from his Majesty; it was during the time of a great and dangerous fever, under which I then laboured; it was in the year 1629, in August or September, which, come that time, is thirteen years since[w]. The cause of his coming was to speak with me about a Liturgy for Scotland. At his coming I was so extreme ill that I saw him not; and had death (which I then expected daily, as did my friends and physicians also) seized on me, I had not seen this heavy time. Feb. 8, 1642.

After this, when I was able to sit up, he came to me again, and told me it was his Majesty's pleasure, that I should receive instructions from[1] some bishops of Scotland concerning a Liturgy for that Church; and that he was employed from my Lord the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and other prelates there, about it. I told him I was clear of opinion, that if his Majesty would have a Liturgy settled there[2], it were best to take the English Liturgy without any variation, that so the same Service-book might be established in all his Majesty's dominions; which I did then, and do still think, would have been a great happiness to this State, and a great honour and safety to religion.

To this he replied, that he was of a contrary opinion; and that not he only, but the bishops of that kingdom, thought
169 their countrymen would be much better satisfied, if a Liturgy were framed by their own clergy, than to have the English Liturgy put upon them; yet he added, that it might be according to the form of our English Service-book. I answered to this, that if this were the resolution of my brethren the bishops of Scotland, I would not entertain so much as thoughts about it, till I might by God's blessing have health and opportunity to wait upon his Majesty, and receive his further directions from himself.

When I was able to go abroad, I came to his Majesty, and represented all that had passed. His Majesty avowed the sending of Dr. Maxwell to me, and the message sent by him;

[1] ['instructions from' in marg. It was originally written, 'bishops' ins.' (*sic.*)]
[2] [Originally added and erased, 'different from that which they had,' The last three words erased, and then written, 'form which they had,']

[w] [See above, p. 211.]

but then he inclined to my opinion, to have the English Service without any alteration to be established there. And in this condition I held that business for two, if not three, years at least. Afterwards, the Scottish bishops still pressing his Majesty, that a Liturgy framed by themselves, and in some few things different from ours, would relish better with their countrymen, they at last prevailed with his Majesty to have it so, and carried it against me, notwithstanding all I could say or do to the contrary.

(72) Then his Majesty commanded me to give the bishops of Scotland my best assistance in this way and work. I delayed as much as I could with my obedience; and when nothing would serve, but it must go on, I confess I was then very serious, and gave them the best help I could. But wheresoever I had any doubt, I did not only acquaint his Majesty with it, but writ down most of the amendments or alterations in his Majesty's presence. And I do verily believe, there is no one thing in that book which may not stand with the conscience of a right good Protestant. Sure I am his Majesty approved them all; and I have his warrant under his royal hand for all that I did about that book[x]. And to the end the book may be extant, and come to the view of the Christian world, and their judgment of it be known, I have caused it to be exactly translated into Latin; and, if right be done, it shall be printed with[1] this History.

This was that which I did concerning the matter and substance[2] of this Service-book. As for the way of introducing it, I ever advised the bishops, both in his Majesty's presence and at other times, both by word and by writing, that they would look carefully to it, and be sure to do nothing about it, but what should be agreeable to the laws of that kingdom; and that they should at all times be sure to

[1] ['with' originally written, 'in the end of']
[2] ['the matter and substance' in margin.]

[x] [Prynne (Hidden Works, p. 156) gives the warrant as follows:—

'Charles R.

I gave the Archbishop of Canterbury command to make the alterations expressed in this Book, and to fit a Liturgy for the Church of Scotland. And wheresoever they shall differ from another Book signed by us at Hampton Court, September 28, 1634, our pleasure is, to have these followed rather than the former, unless the Archbishop of S. Andrewes, and his Brethren who are upon the place, shall see apparent reason to the contrary. At Whitehall, April 19, 1636.']

take the advice of the Lords of his Majesty's Council in that kingdom, and govern themselves and their proceedings accordingly: which course, if they have not followed, that can no way reflect upon me, who have, both in this and all things else, been as careful of their laws, as any man that is a stranger to them could be. And in a letter of mine, after my last coming out of Scotland, thus I wrote to the late reverend Archbishop of St. Andrew's, Septemb. 30, 1633, concerning the Liturgy: that whether that of England or another were resolved on, yet they should proceed circumspectly; 'because his Majesty had no intendment to do anything, but
170 that which was according to honour and justice, and the laws of that kingdom:' and a copy of this letter I have yet by me to show; and for the truth of this narration, I know his Majesty, and my Lord Ross himself, will avow it.

And here I take leave to acquaint the reader, that this was no new conceit of his Majesty, to have a Liturgy framed and Canons made for the Church of Scotland; for he followed his royal father King James his example and care therein, who took order for both at the Assembly of Perth[y], *an.* 1618.

And now to return again to the Article. There is one charge more in it, and that's concerning the Pacification[z] made the former year. The Article says, I 'did censure it as dishonourable, and advise for a new war:' but I did neither. That which I spake was openly at the Council-table, and in his Majesty's presence; and it was this. There arose a debate at the table about these affairs and the Pacification; and I said that I did often wish from my heart that his Majesty had kept the army which he had at Barwick together but eight or ten days longer, and that I did not doubt, but that, if he had so done, he might have had more honourable conditions of his Scottish subjects. This I said, and more or otherwise I said not; and whosoever shall relate them otherwise, forgets truth. Now, to say that his Majesty might have had more honourable (73) conditions, doth not infer that the Pacification then made was upon dishonourable con-

[y] 'Proceedings of the Assembly at Perth,' pp. 40 and 68, [by Dr. Lyndesay. Lond. 1621.]

[z] P. 41 [of orig. MS. See above, p. 361.]

ditions, but only upon less honourable than it might have been[1]. And I had great reason to observe my own words, and remember them; because I saw some lords at the table touched with them, perhaps in their own particulars.

Nor was I alone in this judgment; for my Ld. the Earl of Holland, though he then said nothing at the Council-table, yet at his first return from Barwick, his Lp. did me the honour to come and see me at Lambeth; and in the gallery there, while we were discoursing of the affairs in the north, of himself he used these words to me,—'that his Majesty did too suddenly dissolve his army there; indeed, so suddenly, that everybody wondered at it; and that for his part he was so sorry, especially for the dismissing of all the horse;' (which he said were as good as any in Christendom;) and further, that 'he offered his Majesty to keep one thousand of them for a year at his own and his friends' charge, till the King might see all things well settled again in Scotland.' By which it is apparent, that in his Lordship's judgment things might have been better, had not that army been so suddenly dissolved: and I hope it was no sin in me to wish the best success and the most honour to the King's affairs.

Now that which moved me to say thus[2] at the Council-table, was this. The last Article in the Pacification was, 'To restore to every one of his Majesty's subjects their liberties, lands, houses, goods and means whatsoever, taken and detained from them by whatsoever means since the aforesaid time.' But within two days (or three at the most) after the Pacification agreed upon and concluded [a], the Lord Lindsay made an[3] open and public protestation, either in the camp at Dunns, or at the Cross in Edinborough, or both, that no clergyman, his goods or means, was [b] included in the Pacification: which yet expresses 'every one of his Majesty's subjects.' And this, I did then conceive (and do still), was 171
a very bold audacious act of that lord, very injurious to the poor clergy, and not so honourable for the King. And this made me say, and I say it still, his Majesty might have had more honourable conditions, and his Pacification better kept,

[1] [Here added and erased, 'And of that opinion I am still.']
[2] ['thus' originally 'this']
[3] ['an' interlined.]

[a] Page 6 [of original MS. See above, p. 282.]
[b] 'were'

had he continued his army but eight or ten days longer: for in all probability [1] the Scots could not so long have continued their army together.

And I did further conceive, that by this act of the Lord Lindsay in protesting, and by the Scots making his protestation good against the clergy, there was a direct and manifest breach of the Pacification on their behalf. And then, though I saw no reason why the King should be bound to keep that mutual Pacification, which they had broken (for a knot must be fast at both ends, or loose at both); yet remembering my calling, I did not incense his Majesty against his subjects in Scotland; nor did hereupon advise the undertaking of an 'offensive war' against them; nor ever give other counsel in this particular, than what I openly gave before the Lds. either in the Committee, or at the Board: and there my concurring in opinion [2] with all the rest of the Lords, was, I hope, no other, nor no greater fault, than in them, though I be thus singled out.

And for the Pacification, I shall say thus much more: Though I could with all my heart have wished it more honourable for the King, and more express and safe [3] for my brethren of the clergy; yet all things considered, which were put unto me, I did approve it. For before the Pacification was fully agreed upon, his Majesty did me the honour to write unto me all with his own (74) hand: in this letter he commanded me, all delay set apart, to send him my judgment plainly and freely what I thought of the Pacification; which was then almost ready for conclusion. I in all humility approved of the Pacification, as it was then put to me; and sent my answer presently back, and my reasons why I approved it: little thinking then, but that my poor brethren the bishops of Scotland should have had all restored unto them, according to the Article of the Pacification before recited; or at least for so long, till they had defended themselves and their calling, and their cause, in a free General Assembly, and as free a Parliament. Now this was ever assumed [c] to

[1] ['in all probability' in margin.]
[2] ['in opinion' interlined.]
[3] ['and safe' interlined.]

[c] 'assured'

me should be done; and to procure [1] this, was all which the bishops seemed to desire of me [2]. And for the truth of this I appeal to his Majesty, to whom I writ it; and to my Ld. Marquess Hamilton, to whom the King showed my letter (as my Ld. Marquess himself told me at his return); and to Dr. Juxon, Ld. Bp. of London, then Ld. High Treasurer of England, to whom I showed my letter before I sent it away. And this is all I did concerning the Pacification.

14. *That to preserve himself from being questioned for these and other his traitorous courses, he hath laboured to subvert the rights of Parliament, and the ancient course of parliamentary proceedings; and by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against Parliaments. By which words, counsels, and actions, he hath traitorously, and contrary to his allegiance, laboured to alienate the* 172 *hearts of the King's liege people from his Majesty, to set a division between them, and to ruin and destroy his Majesty's kingdoms. For which they do impeach him of high treason against our sovereign lord the King, his crown and dignity.*

Ad 14. I did never labour to subvert the rights of Parliaments, or the ancient course of their proceedings: and not doing it at all, I could not do it to keep myself from being questioned. Much less did I by any malicious slanders, or any other way, incense his Majesty against Parliaments, nor ever thereby labour to alienate the hearts of the King's liege people from his Majesty, nor to set any division between them, or to ruin and destroy [3] his Majesty's kingdoms. And am no way guilty in the least degree of high treason against our sovereign Ld. the King, his crown and dignity.

It is true, I have been much and very often grieved, to see the great distractions which have happened of later years, both in King James his time, and since, about the breaches which have been [4] in Parliaments. And I have as heartily wished, and to my power endeavoured, that all Parliaments

[1] ['to procure' interlined.] [2] ['of me.' interlined.]
[3] ['destroy' originally written, by mistake, 'preserve']
[4] ['been' originally written, 'happened']

which have been called, might come to their happy issue, and end in the contentment of the King and his people. And I have ever been of opinion, and I shall live[1] and die in it, that there can be no true and settled happiness in this or any other kingdom, but by a fair and legal, as well as natural agreement between the King and his people. That according to the course of England this agreement is in a great proportion founded upon Parliaments.

Now Parliaments (as I humbly conceive) can never better preserve their own rights, than by a free and honourable way, to keep up the greatness and power of their King[2]; that so he may be the better able, (75) against all foreign practices, to keep up the honour as well as the safety of the nation; both which usually stand or fall together. And if[3] any particular men's miscarriages have distempered any Parliaments, and caused or occasioned a breach, I have (upon the grounds before laid) been as sorry as any man for it, but never contributed anything to it. And I hope it is not criminal to think, that Parliaments may sometimes, in some things, by misinformation or otherwise, be mistaken, as well as other Courts.

This, in conclusion, I clearly think; Parliaments are the best preservers of the ancient laws and rights of this kingdom. But this I think too, that *corruptio optimi est pessima;* that no corruption is so bad, so foul, so dangerous, as that which is of the best. And therefore, if Parliaments should at any time be misguided by practice of a malignant party; nothing then so dangerous as such a Parliament; because the highest remedy being corrupted, there's no free redress left at all. And we had a lamentable example of such a Parliament, when Hen. IV. was set up. For that Parliament was the cause of all the civil wars, and that great effusion of blood which followed soon after in this kingdom. God make us mindful and careful to prevent the like[4].

173 *The said Commons do further aver, that the said William, Archbishop of Canterbury, during the time in which the*

[1] ['shall live' originally written, 'shall ever live']
[2] ['against all foreign forces' erased.]
[3] ['And if' originally written, 'And upon these grounds, if']
[4] ['God make . . . like.' inserted afterwards.]

treasons and offences aforenamed[d] *were committed, hath been a Bishop or Archbishop in this realm of England, one of the King's Commissioners for ecclesiastical matters, and of*[e] *his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council: and that he hath taken an oath for his faithful discharge of the said office of Counsellor, and hath likewise taken the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance. And the said Commons by protestation, saving to themselves the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other accusation or impeachment against the said Archbishop, and also of replying to the answers that the said Archbishop shall make unto the said Articles, or to any of them; and of offering further proof also of the premises, or any of them, [or of any other impeachment or accusation that shall be exhibited by them*[f]*], as the case shall, according to the course of Parliaments, require; do pray that the said Archbishop may be put to answer to all and every the premises; and that such proceedings, examinations, trial, and judgment may be upon every of them had and used, as is agreeable to law and justice.*

This is the conclusion of these general Articles then put up against me; and is added only for form, and so requires no answer from me. But in the close, they of the House of Commons[1] make two petitions to the Lords; and both were granted, as 'tis fit they should. The one is, 'That they may add further accusation, or further proof of this, as the course of Parliaments require.' And I refuse no such either accusation or proof, so the due course of Parliaments be kept. The other is, 'That there may be such proceedings, examinations, trial and judgment, as is agreeable to law and justice.' And such proceedings my innocency can never decline. But whether the proceedings hitherto against me be according to the ancient proceedings in Parliament, or to law and justice, I leave posterity to judge: since they which here

[1] ['of the House of Commons' in margin.]

[d] 'aforementioned crimes' Rushworth; 'crimes aforementioned were done and committed,' Pryn.

[e] 'one of' Rush. and Pryn.

[f] These words are added from Pryn and Rushworth.

seem so earnestly to call for 'examinations, trial and judgment,' have not to this day proceeded to any trial, nay, have not so much as brought up any particular charge against me, it being almost a full year since they brought up this general charge, and called for 'examinations and trial;' and yet have kept me in prison (76) all this while, to the great weakening of my aged body, and waste of my poor fortunes: and how much longer they mean to keep me there, God knows. Whereas all that I do desire, is a just and fair trial, with such an issue, better or worse, as it shall please God to give. Feb. 10, 1641.

CAP. VIII. 174

'WHEN these Articles had been read unto me in the Upper House, and I had spoken to the Lords, in a general answer to them, what I thought fit, as is before expressed [a]: I humbly
Feb. 26, 164½. desired of the Lords (this being upon Friday, Feb. 26) that my going to the Tower might be put off till the Monday after, that so I might have time to be the better fitted for my lodging. This, I humbly thank their Lps., was granted [b]. I returned to Mr. Maxwell's custody, and that afternoon sent my steward to Sir Wi. Balfore, then Lieutenant, that a lodging might be had for me with as much convenience as might
Mar. 1, 164½. be. On Monday, March 1, Mr. Maxwell carried me in his coach to the Tower. St. George's Feast having been formerly put off, was to begin [1] that evening. By this means Mr. Maxwell (whose office tied him to attendance upon that solemnity) could not possibly go with me to the Tower at evening, as I desired. Therefore noon, when the citizens were at dinner, was chosen as the next fittest time for privateness. All was well, till I passed through Newgate shambles, and entered into Cheapside. There some one prentice first halloed out; more and [more] followed the coach, (the number still increasing as they went,) till by that time I came to the Exchange, the shouting was exceeding great. And so they followed me with clamour and revilings, even beyond barbarity itself; not giving over, till the coach

[1] ['was to begin' originally written 'kept']

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[a] Page 55 [of original MS. See above, p. 396].

[b] Vide Rushw. p. 202. [See also, Lords' Journals, Feb. 26, 1640:—

"The House did order, that the Archbishop of Cant. be committed to the Tower, but to remain in the custody of the Gentleman Usher until Monday next, and then to be transmitted to the Tower. In the meantime the Gentleman Usher to be responsible for his safe custody, and not to be admitted the liberty of going abroad to take the air, as was formerly allowed him."

After this a Committee was appointed to desire the King, that the Archbishop might be sequestered from all his offices, and not permitted to present to, or dispose of any livings, till he hath cleared himself from the charge of high treason.]

was entered in at the Tower gate. Mr. Maxwell, out of his love and care, was exceedingly troubled at it; but I bless God for it, my patience was not moved: I looked upon a higher cause than the tongues of Shimei and his children.

The same day[c] there was a Committee for Religion named in the Upper House of Parliament; ten earls, ten bishops, and ten barons[e]. So the lay votes will be double to the clergy; that they may carry what they will for truth. This Committee professes to meddle with doctrine, as well as ceremonies; and to that end will call some divines to them, to consider of and prepare business. This appears by a letter sent by Dr. Williams, then Lord Bishop of Lincoln, now Lord Archbishop of York, to some divines, which were named to attend this service. The copy of the letter follows:— Mar. 1, 164$\frac{1}{2}$[d].

"With my best wishes unto you in Christ Jesus. I am commanded by the Lds. of the Committee for Innovations in matters of Religion, to let you know, that their said Lps. have assigned and appointed you to attend on them as assistant in that Committee. And to let you know in general, Mar. 12, 164$\frac{1}{2}$.

[c] [In the Diary it is stated, by H. Wharton, to be March 15. See above, p. 241. The date in Lords' Journals is March 1.]

[d] [On March 1, the following petition of the Archbishop was read in the House of Lords:—

"To the Right Hon. the Lords Spiritual and Temporal assembled in the High Court of Parliament:

"The humble petition of William Laud, Archbishop of Cant., sheweth,

"That whereas it is your petitioner's hard fortune to lie at this present under a most heavy charge before your Lordships, he most humbly and thankfully acknowledgeth your Lordships' great favour in hearing him so patiently when he was last before you.

"And humbly prayeth, that with your Lordships' good liking, he may have a copy of his said charge, and counsel assigned him whereby he may be the better enabled for his just defence, and will not doubt but, by God's assistance, to make his innocency appear to your Lordships.

"For whose prosperity he shall daily pray."

The names of such counsel as he desired to be assigned were, Mr. Lane, Attorney to the Prince's Highness, Mr. Recorder of London, Mr. Serj. Rolles, Mr. Herne of Lincoln's Inn, Mr. Low of the Inner Temple, Mr. Lightfoot of Gray's Inn, Mr. Merricke, in regard of the High Commission, and Mr. Alkorne to be his solicitor.

The House ordered, that he should have such counsel as were not of counsel to the E. of Strafford, and that he and the E. of Strafford should not be permitted to come together in the Tower.]

[e] [The names of the Committee on Religion are thus given in Lords' Journals, March 1, 164$\frac{2}{1}$:—

"The L. Treasurer.

"The L. Chamberlain.

"E. of Bath, Southampton, Bedford, Hertford, Essex, Dorset, Sarum, Warwick, March, Bristol, Clare, Berks, Dover.

"L. Visc. Say and Seale.

"L. Bishops of Winton, Chester, Lincoln, Sarum, Exon, Carlisle, Ely, Bristol, Rochester, Chichester.

"Lords Strange, Willoughby D'Eresby, North, Kimbolton, Howard de Charlton, Grey de Werk, Robarts, Craven, Pawlett, Howard de Escrich, Goring, Saville, Dunsmore, Seymour."

that their Lps. do intend to examine all innovations in doctrine or discipline, introduced into the Church without law since the Reformation; and, if their Lordships shall in their judgments find it behoveful for the good of the Church and State, to examine after that the degrees and perfection of 175
the Reformation itself: which I am directed to intimate unto you, that you may prepare your thoughts, studies, and meditations accordingly; expecting their Lps'. pleasure for the particular points, as they shall arise; and giving you to understand that their Lps'. next sitting is upon Friday next, in the afternoon, I recommend you to God's protection, being

"Your very loving Friend and Brother,

"*West. Coll.* 12 *Martii*, 1640. "JO. LINCOLN.

"To my very loving Friends and Brethren,

"Dr. Brownrig[f]. Mr. Shute[l].
Dr. Featly[g]. Mr. Calamy[m].
Dr. Hacket[h]. Mr. White[n].
Dr. Westfield[i]. Mr. Marshal[o]."
Dr. Burges[k].

What use will be made of this Committee, for the present I shall expect; but what it shall produce in future, I dare not prophesy. But it may be, it will prove in time superior to the National Synods of England; and what that may work in this Church and State, God knows [1].

[1] [This whole passage relating to the Committee on Religion inserted on opposite side.]

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[f] [Ralph Brownrig, Master of Cath. Hall, Camb., Preb. of Ely, and Archd. of Coventry; afterwards Bp. of Exeter.]

[g] [Daniel Featley, or Fairclough, Rector of Lambeth. See his Life in Wood, Ath. Ox. iii. 156, seq.]

[h] [John Hacket, Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and Archd. of Bedford. At the Restoration he was made Bp. of Lichfield.]

[i] [Thomas Westfield, Archdeacon of St. Alban's, Preb. of St. Paul's, and Rector of St. Bartholomew the Great; in 1641 Bp. of Bristol.]

[k] [Cornelius Burgess. See note in Accounts of Province, Works, vol. v. p. 337.]

[l] [Josias Shute, Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, afterwards Archd. of Colchester.]

[m] [Edmund Calamy, Minister of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury. He was one of the authors of the joint reply to Bp. Hall, under the title Smectymnuus, the third and fourth letters of which word are his initials.]

[n] [John White, of Dorchester. On the ejection of Dr. Featley, he became Rector of Lambeth.]

[o] [Stephen Marshall, Vicar of Finchingfield, and another of the joint authors of Smectymnuus, the first two letters being his initials.]

I settled myself in my lodging in the Tower, where I yet am, and pass my weary time as well as I can. On Saturday, Mar. 13, 1640. Mar. 13, divers lords dined with the Lord Herbert, son to the Earl of Worcester, at his new house by Fox-Hall in Lambeth. As they came back after dinner, three young lords were in a boat together, and St. Paul's Church was in their eye. Hereupon one of them said, he was sorry for my commitment, if it were but for the building of St. Paul's, which would go but slowly on therewhile. The Lord Brook, who was one of the three, replied, 'I hope one of us shall live to see no one stone left upon another of that building.' This was told and avowed by one of the lords present; and when I heard it, I said, Now the Lord forbid; and bless His poor Church in this kingdom [p].

[p] [See above, p. 241.]

CAP. IX.* 176

Mar. 22, 1641. ON Monday, Mar. 22, the Earl of Strafford's trial began in Westminster-Hall; and it continued with some few intermissions till the end of April. The Earl got all the time a great deal of reputation by his patient, yet stout and clear answers, and changed many understanding men's minds concerning him; insomuch that the great lawyers of his counsel affirmed there openly, that there was no treason appearing to them by any law. Upon this the House of Commons, who were all the while present in a body, left the Hall, and instead of leaving the whole cause to the judgment of the Lords in the ordinary way of Parliaments, betook themselves to their legislative power, and so passed a Bill of Attainder against him; and having none, made a law to take away his life. This Bill was denied by two or three and fifty, as able men as any in the House of Commons. But the faction grew so hot, that all their names were pasted up at the Exchange, under the title of 'Straffordians,' thereby to increase the hatred of the people, both against him and them; and the libels multiplied.

(77) This Bill went on with great haste and earnestness; which the King observing, and loth to lose so great and good a servant, his Majesty came into the House of Lords, and Maii 1, 1641. there, upon Saturday, Maii 1, declared unto both Houses how carefully he had heard and observed all the charge against the Earl of Strafford (for he was present at every day's hearing), and found that his fault, whatever it were, could not amount to treason; and added, that if they meant to proceed by Bill, it must pass by him, and that he could not in his conscience find him guilty, nor would ever wrong his honour or his conscience so far as to pass such a Bill [1]; or to that effect: but advised them to proceed by way of misdemeanour, and he would concur with them in any sentence[a].

[1] ['as to pass such a Bill;' in marg.]

[a] See the King's Speech, apud Rush. p. 239.

This displeased mightily, and I verily think it hastened the Earl's death. And indeed to what end should the King come voluntarily to say this, and there, unless he would have bid by it, whatever came? And it had been far more regal to reject the Bill when it had been brought to him, (his conscience standing so as his Majesty openly professed it did,) than to make this honourable preface, and let the Bill pass after [b].

The House of Commons, and some Lds. too, it seems, eagerly bent against the Earl of Strafford, seeing by this the King's bent, grew more sharp, and pursued the Bill the more violently; insomuch that within two or three days after, some citizens of London and prentices came down in multitudes to the Parliament, called there for justice, and pretended all trade was stopped till justice was done upon the Earl of
177 Strafford. Who brought on the people to this way, I would not tell you if I did certainly know; but wise men see that plain enough without telling. These people press upon the Lords in a way unknown in the English government, yea, or in any settled government in Christendom. In conclusion, they are taught to threaten the King and his Court in a strange manner, if they may not have speedy justice. The Bill comes up to the Lords when the House was none of the fullest, (but what made so many absent I know not,) and there it passed. And upon Sunday, May 9, the King was so laid at, and so frighted with these bugbears [1], that if justice were not done, and the Bill passed for the Earl of Strafford's execution, the multitude would come the next day, and pull down White-Hall, (and God knows what might become of the King himself,) that these fears [2] prevailing, his Majesty gave way, and the Bill passed; and that night late, Sir Dudly Carlton, one of the Clerks of the Council, was sent to the Tower, to give the Earl warning that he must prepare to die the Wednesday morning following. May 9, 1641.

The Earl of Strafford received the message of death with great courage, yet sweetness (as Sir Dudly himself after told

[1] ['with these bugbears,' in marg.]

[2] ['that these fears' a fresh sentence originally began here, 'These fears prevailing, the King' &c.]

[b] [Abp. Sancroft remarks on this passage, as being too severe on the King.]

me). On Monday morning, the Earl sent for the Ld. Primate of Armagh[c] to come to him. He came; and the same day visited me, and gave me very high testimony of the Earl's sufficiency and resolution; and among the rest this, that he never knew any layman in all his life, that so well and fully understood matters of divinity, as the Earl did; and that his resolutions were as firm and as good.

In this interim before the day of his death, he made by his friends two suits to his Majesty: the one, that he might die privately within the Tower; the other, that his death might be respited till the Saturday, that he might have (78) a little more time to settle his estate. His Majesty sent these requests to the Houses. Answer was returned to the first, that the people would not be satisfied, nor believe he was dead, unless they saw him die publicly. And to the second, that time enough was given already; and that if any further delay were used, the people would think justice should not be done at all, and resort thither again in multitudes, to the hazard of public peace.

The Earl made these two suits; and in the meantime one offer was made to him. It was this, That if he would employ his power and credit with the King for the taking of Episcopacy out of the Church, he should yet have his life. His Christian answer was very heroical; namely, that 'he would not buy his life at so dear a rate.' The man that sent him this message was his brother-in-law, Mr. Denzill Hollis[d], one of the great leading men in the House of Commons; and my Ld. Primate of Armagh avowed this from the Earl of Strafford's own mouth. And as he was of too generous a spirit to lie basely, so being in preparing of himself to leave the world, it cannot be thought he would with a dying mouth belie his brother[1].

These answers being returned, the Earl prepared himself;
Maii 12, 1641. and upon Wednesday morning, about ten of the clock, being 178
May the twelfth, he was beheaded on the Tower-Hill, many thousands beholding him. The speech[e] which he made at his end was a great testimony of his religion and piety, and

[1] ['The Earl . . . brother.' The whole of this paragraph on opposite page.]

[c] [James Ussher.]
[d] [Lord Strafford's second wife was Arabella Hollis, the sister of Denzil Hollis.]
[e] It is extant apud Rushw. p. 267.

was then printed; and in[1] their judgment who were men of worth, and some upon, some near the scaffold, and saw him die, he made a patient, and pious, and courageous end; insomuch, that some doubted whether his death had more of the Roman or the Christian in it, it was so full of both. And notwithstanding this hard fate which fell upon him, he is dead with more honour, than any of them will gain which hunted after his life. Thus ended the wisest, the stoutest, and every way the ablest subject that this nation hath bred these many years. The only imperfections which he had, that were known to me, were his want of bodily health, and a carelessness, or rather roughness, not to oblige any: and his mishaps in this last action were, that he groaned under the public envy of the nobles, served a mild and a gracious prince, who knew not how to be, or be made great; and trusted false, perfidious, and cowardly men in the northern employment, though he had many doubts put to him about it. This day was after called by divers[2], *Homicidium Comitis Straffordiæ*, 'the day of the murder of Strafford;' because, when malice itself could find no law to put him to death, they made a law of purpose for it. God forgive all, and be merciful.

The Earl being thus laid low, and his great services done in Ireland made part of his accusation, I cannot but observe two things: the one, that upon Sunday morning before, Francis Earl of Bedford (having about a month before[3] lost his second son[4] in whom he most joyed) died; the small-pox striking up into his brain. This lord was one of the main plotters of Strafford's death; and I know where he, with other Lds., before the Parliament sat down, resolved to have his blood. But God would not let him live to take joy therein, but cut him off in the morning, whereas the Bill for the E. of Strafford's death was not signed till night[5]. The other is, that at this time the Parliament tendered two, and but

[1] ['in' originally written 'by']
[2] ['by divers' in marg.]
[3] ['about a month before' here written in marg. They were originally inserted after the word 'joyed.']

[4] [Francis Russell, who died in France. (See Peck's Desid. Cur. xiv. p. 16.)]
[5] [From the statement of Clarendon, (Hist. Rebell. vol. i. p. 422,) this appears to be a mistake.]

two, Bills to the King to sign. This to cut off Strafford's head was one, and the other was, that this Parliament should neither be dissolved nor adjourned but by the consent of both Houses; in which, what he cut off from himself, time will better show than I can. God bless the King and his royal issue.

I told you before, the people came in a tumultuous way to call for justice; and half an eye may see how, and by whom, they were set on. In the meantime, let me tell you further, that this art being once begun, without consideration of the danger, or care of the dishonour of such proceedings, whensoever there was anything proposed in the House of Commons which it was thought the Lords would stick at, or the King not grant, by and by the rabble came about the Houses, and called for this and that justice, as they were prompted. God bless the government of this kingdom, or all is lost.

I must tell you further, that from the time that the Earl of 179
Strafford was first brought to his answer in Westminster-Hall, the bitter and fierce libels of the factious[1] people came daily out[2], (79) to keep up and increase the people's hate against him. And though they were full of most notorious untruths, yet coming from that party, were swallowed and believed by the most. Among divers others, they spread one, in which they delivered to the world, that the Earl of Strafford drawing near to his end, when he saw no remedy, but he must die, fell into great and passionate expressions against me; that I and my counsels had been the ruin of him and his house; and that he cursed me bitterly. Now as this is most false in itself, so am I most able to make it appear so. For his Lordship, being to suffer on the Wednesday morning, did upon Tuesday in the afternoon desire the Ld. Primate of Armagh, then with him, to come to me, and desire me that I would not fail to be in my chamber window at the open casement the next morning, when he was to pass by it, as he went to execution; that though he might not speak with me, yet[3] he might see me, and take his last leave of me. I sent him word I would, and did so. And the next morning as he passed by, he turned towards me, and took the solemnest

[1] ['factious' in margin.] [2] ['out,' originally written 'out against him,']
[3] ['yet' originally written 'that']

leave that I think was ever by any at distance taken one of another; and this in the sight of the Earl of Newport, then Ld. Constable of the Tower[h], the Ld. Primate of Armagh, the Earl of Cleveland[i], the Lieutenant of the Tower, and divers other knights and gentlemen of worth[1]. Besides, though during the time of both our restraints, and the nearness of our lodgings, we held no intercourse each with other; yet Sir Wi. Balfore, then Lieutenant of the Tower, told me often what frequent and great expressions of love the Earl made to me: which cannot stand with that base slander which the lewd libel vented. But I leave that honourable person in his grave, and while I live shall honour his memory. But must here a little go back.

For, May the first, after the King had declared his conscience and his judgment concerning the Earl of Strafford's offences to both Houses (as is before set down[k]) and was gone away, a letter was read in the Upper House from the Scots, in which their army did earnestly desire to be gone. It was moved to have a present conference with the Commons about it; and the debate was very short, many Lds.[2] being desirous to lay hold of that opportunity to be rid of the Scots. But so good and so quick was the intelligence from some of the Lds., that the House of Commons was risen before the Messengers from the Lds. could get thither, and so the conference was not only prevented, but things so ordered, that the Scots stayed in England till the middle of August following, at a marvellous great charge to the kingdom, and with what wrong and dishonour to King and kingdom, let posterity judge. May 1, 1641.

Before the death of the Earl of Strafford, the libels came out thick, and very malicious against him. And all this to whet the malice that was against him, and make the people more greedy for his death. But no sooner was he gone into his rest, but the libellers, which during that time reviled him, fell on me; and no question but to the same end. And the libels and ballads against me were frequently spread through

[1] ['and this . . . of worth.' on opposite page.]

[2] ['Lds.' interlined.]

[h] [Mountjoy Blount, the natural son of Charles Blount, the Earl of Devonshire, and Lady Rich. He was created Earl of Newport, August 3, 1628.]

[i] [Thomas Wentworth, created Earl of Cleveland, Feb. 5, 1626.]

[k] P. 77 [of original MS. See above, p. 440].

the city, and sung up and down the streets. And (I thank God for it) they were as full of falsehood as gall. Besides, they made base pictures of me; putting me into a cage, and fastening me to a post by a chain at my shoulder, and the like. And divers of these libels made men sport in taverns and alehouses; where too many were as drunk with malice, as with the liquor they sucked in. Against which my only comfort was, that I was fallen but into the same case with the prophet David, Psal. lxix., "For they that sat in the gate spake against me, and I was the song of the drunkards [1]." About this time I fell into a tertian ague, which was comfortless in a prison. But I humbly praise God for it, after seven or eight fits He restored me to my health; the only comfort which I have under Him in this time of my affliction [1].

[1] [The whole of this last paragraph in opposite page.]

[1] Psal. lxix. 12.

181 CAP. X.

UPON Wednesday, June 23, I acquainted his Majesty [1] by my Lord of London, that now I had answered all complaints come against me concerning the University of Oxford, I thought it requisite for me to resign the Chancellorship of that place: and I gave his Majesty such reasons as he approved for my so doing. And the truth is, I suffered much by the clamours of the Earl of Pembroke, who thought it long till he had that place, which he had long gaped for: and after the cloud was once spread over me, spared me in no company; though I had in all the time of my prosperity observed him in Court, more than ever he had deserved of me. And I had reason, notwithstanding all his causeless heat, to keep the place till I had justified myself against the Townsmen's petition to the Lords; wherein they charged me with no less than treason, for setting out a proclamation about regulating the market in my own name[a]: but I made it appear to the Lords, that I did no more therein, than the Earl of Leicester in Queen Elizabeth's time, or the E. of Dorset in King James his time, did before me, when they (80) were Chancellors of that University. And I was able to show the Lds., and did so, the copies of both their several proclamations in print in their own names. And further, I made appear by the University Records, that the Chancellors for the time being had frequently done it, ever since the time of King Edward III.; and that the Lord Mayor of London, and other mayors having the clerkship of the market (as the Chancellors of Oxford have, and not the Mayor), do it daily. So this great and most malicious complaint of the city of Oxford vanished, when they, and somebody else for them, had showed their teeth, but could not bite. But having ended this business, and my Vice-Chancellor[b] (whom I was

June 23, 1641.

[1] ['his Majesty' interlined.]

[a] [See Wood's Annals *ad an.* 1640, p. 426.]

[b] [Christopher Potter, Provost of Queen's.]

not willing to expose to another's hand [c]) had finished his year, and that according to duty I had given his Majesty an account of the business, I pursued my resolution: and upon
Junii 25, 1641. Friday, June the 25th [d], I sent down my resignation of the Chancellorship of Oxford, to be published in Convocation; which was done accordingly, and the Earl of Pembroke had
Julii 1, 1641. his desires, and was chosen into it. God bless the University therewhile, and grant they may never have need of me, now unable to help them.

Aug. 10, 1641. On Tuesday, August 10, his Majesty rode away post into Scotland; the Parliaments sitting in both kingdoms, and the armies not yet dissolved. There was great scanning about this journey: and the House of Commons sent some Commissioners thither, as the Scots had some here. Among the Scotch Commissioners the prime man was the Earl of Rothes [e], who also was one of the greatest and most zealous leaders of the Scottish rebellion under the pretence of religion, and a deadly enemy to the Earl of Strafford, and was heard to say more than once, they would have his head; and they had it. But much about this time, Rothes his zeal was so hot among the ladies, and the citizens' wives, that he fell very foully into 182
the pox: and divers of his friends (as they told me themselves) going to visit him, were not admitted to see him; and at last he was conveyed from London to Richmond by his aunt, the Lady Roxborough, where he died: but this base and dishonourable end of his in rottenness, they concealed as much as they could [f].

What the King did in Scotland, hath no relation, for aught I yet hear, to this poor story of mine. And the Parliament here made a recess [g], Aug. . . . till Octob. . . . leaving a considerable Committee sitting to prepare business against the House met again. During this recess there was all silence concerning me; and as is conceived, upon this ground; because before the recess, the Committee appointed for that business failed in some proofs, which they well hoped should

[c] f. hatred.

[d] [The letter of resignation given in Hist. of Chancellorship, *ad fin.* is dated June 28; the other letter, which is also given in this edition, from the copy published at the time, is dated June 25, in accordance with the statement in the text.]

[e] [John Leslie, fifth Earl.]

[f] [Archbishop Sancroft justly complains of this passage, about the Earl of Rothes, as 'too bitter.']

[g] From September 9 till October 20. So Rushworth, pp. 387, 388.

have reached me home in matters of religion, and thereupon have done little since: and the libels since that time have neither been so frequent, nor so malicious against me. God quiet this storm; though (I praise God) I know not why it was raised so high against me.

Thursday, September 23, 1641, Mr. Adam Torless, my ancient, loving, and faithful servant, and then my steward, after he had served me full forty and two years, died, to my great both loss and grief[h]. For all my accounts since my commitment were in his hands; and had he not been a very honest and careful man, I must have suffered much more than I did; yet I suffered enough, besides the loss of his person, who was now become almost the only comfort of my affliction, and my age. So true it is, that afflictions seldom come single.

[h] [This faithful servant is mentioned twice by the Archbishop in his Diary, Oct. 2, 1624, (above, p. 154,) and in an entry corresponding to that in the text (above, p. 242).]

CAP. XI. 183

DURING the recess of the Parliament[a], Sir Hen. Martin[b] died, and I made[1] Dr. Merricke Judge of the Prerogative[c]: Dr. Duck[d] missing his hopes of this office, by his (81) own absence and default, and finding me under this thick cloud, hoped to have wrested this office out of my hands, and his to whom I had given it. This was one of the basest, and most ungrateful parts, that ever any man played me. But he failed in his hopes[2], and his petition was cast out of the Lords' House, to try his right at law; which was all that was asked[3] by Dr. Merricke[e]. Yet upon the earnestness of the then[4] Lord Bishop of Lincoln, and now Archbishop of York[f], the Lords sequestered my jurisdiction, and put it into the hands of my inferior officers; and added in the order, that I should dispose of neither benefice, nor any other thing, but I should first acquaint them with it[g]. The order follows, in *hæc verba*:—

[1] ['made' the words 'put' and 'gave' here erased.]
[2] ['hopes,' in marg.]
[3] ['that was asked' originally written 'that I asked']
[4] ['then' interlined.]

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[a] [The Parliament rose Sept. 9, and did not sit again till Oct. 20.]

[b] [See above, p. 93.]

[c] [William Merricke of New Coll. Wood (F. O. i. 432) speaks of him as "eminent for his great learning and abilities, as also for his loyalty and affection to King Charles II. and his father." He was knighted Nov. 8, 1661, and died 1668.]

[d] [Arthur Duck, Chancellor of London.]

[e] [Duck's petition was ordered to be received by the House of Lords, Oct. 23, read Oct. 26, and the Earls of Warwick and Dover, and the Bishop of Lincoln ordered the same day to proceed at once to inquire of the Archbishop what had become of the patent of reversion of the judge's place in the Prerogative Court, which he had drawn up in Duck's favour. The Committee reported the result of their conference with the Archbishop on Oct. 29, and on Nov. 9 the cause was discharged. It appears from the Report of the Archbishop's replies to the interrogatories, read in the House Oct. 29, that he had drawn up a patent in favour of Duck, but that in consequence of his absence, fearing lest the patronage should be taken from him, he cancelled the document, and appointed Dr. Merricke, who was on the spot.]

[f] [John Williams, translated to York, Dec. 4, 1641.]

[g] P. 86 [of original MS. This is a reference to a later part of the history, where this order is spoken of. See vol. iv. p. 2]

"*Die Sab.* 23. *Octob.* 1641. Octob. 23, 1641.

"It is ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury shall be sequestered, until he shall be convicted or acquitted of the charge of high treason against him; and the same in the meantime to be executed by his inferior officers. And further, concerning those ecclesiastical benefices, promotions, or dignities, that are in his disposing, he shall present this House the names of such persons, as shall be nominated by him for the same, to be approved of first by this House, before they be collated or instituted.

"JO. BROWNE, *Cler. Parliament.* &c."

For my jurisdiction (I thank God) I never knowingly abused it. And of the other restraint about the giving of my benefices, I cannot but think it very hard in two respects: the one is, that I should be put to name to them, before I give that, which by law is mine to give. In the meantime they cry out of the violation of the propriety which each subject hath in his goods; and yet I must not give my own: so also they condemn arbitrary government, and yet press upon me an arbitrary order against law. The other is, that if in obedience to this order I shall nominate any man to them, be he never so worthy for life and learning; yet if upon misinformation, or otherwise, the House should refuse him, I should not only not do him the good I intended, but blast him for all the remainder of his life: and whensoever he shall seek for any other preferment, that shall be laid[h] unto him, that he was thought unworthy by the High Court of Parliament. Yet how to ease myself against this order, I know not.

184 This day, Novemb. 1, news came to the Parliament of the rebellion in Ireland; the King being then in Scotland, where there were troubles enough also. The Irish pretended the Scots' example, and hoped they should get their liberties, and the freedom of their religion, as well as they. But that rebellion is grown fierce and strong; and what end that war will have, God knows: a happy one God of His mercy send. Nov. 1, 1641.

[h] 'objected'

For this nation is in many difficulties at once; and we have drawn them all upon ourselves. But this belongs not to my story. Only this I shall add (which is the judgment of all prudent men that I speak with, both of Ireland and England), that if the Earl of Strafford had lived, and not been blasted in his honour and service[1], no rebellion had been stirring there. And if this be so, 'tis a sore account for his blood; if either that kingdom be upon this occasion quite lost from the crown of England, or not recovered without great expense both of treasure and blood.

Novemb. 25, 1641. On Thursday, Novemb. 25, the King returning from Scotland, entered into London, was received with great state and joy, and sumptuously entertained[i]. This made divers men think, there would have been a turn in the present business. And what it might have proved, if the King would have presently and vigorously set (82) himself to vindicate his own just power, and leave them their ancient and just privileges, is not, I think, hard to judge. But he let it cool, and gave that which is truly the 'malignant faction' (but call others so) time to underwork him, and bring the City round, and all ran then stronger in the same current than ever it did. So God of His mercy bless all.

Decemb. 30, 1641. On Thursday, Decemb. 30, the Ld. Archbp. of York, and eleven[2] other Bishops[k], were sent to the Tower for high treason; and two other Bishops, Duresme, and Coventry and Lichfield, to Mr. Maxwell's[1]; for setting their hands to a petition, and delivering of it with a protestation, that this was not a free Parliament, since they who had ancient right there, could not come to give their votes[3] as they ought, without danger of their lives. For by this time it was grown common, that the multitude came down in heaps, if either the Lords or the King denied anything which the House of Commons affected. But how it came to pass that these multitudes should come down in such disorder, and yet be sent back and dissolved so easily, at a word or beck of some men, let the world judge.

[1] ['and service,' originally written 'service there,']
[2] ['eleven' originally written 'ten']
[3] ['votes' originally written 'votes there']

[i] Vide Rushw. p. 429, &c. [ii] See Rushw. p. 468.
[k] [See their names below.]

The Petition and Protestation, which the Bishops delivered in, was as follows; and perchance it was unseasonably delivered; and perhaps some words in it might have been better spared; but the treason (and peradventure that's my ignorance) I cannot find in it [m].

185 " *The Petition and Protestation of Twelve Bishops, for which they were accused of High Treason by the House of Commons, and committed by the Lords to the Black Rod* [n].

" That whereas the petitioners are called upon [o], by several and respective writs, under great penalties, to attend in Parliament, and have a clear and indubitable right to vote in Bills, and all other matters whatsoever debated [p] in Parliament, by the ancient customs, laws and statutes of this realm, and are to be protected by your Majesty, quietly to attend [and prosecute [q]] that great service: they humbly remonstrate and protest before God, your Majesty, and the noble Peers [r] now assembled in Parliament, that as they have an indubitable right to sit and vote in the House of Lords, so they, if they may be protected from force and violence, are most ready and willing to perform that duty [s] accordingly; and that they do abominate all actions and opinions tending to Popery [t], or any inclination to the 'malignant party,' or any other side and party whatsoever, to the which their own reasons and consciences shall not adhere [u]. But whereas, they have been at several times violently menaced, affronted, and assaulted by multitudes of people, in coming to perform their service to that honourable House, and lately chased away and put in danger of their lives, and find [x] no redress or protection, upon

[m] The Address of the twelve Bishops here subjoined, is not right. It should be to the King. Quære.—W. S. A. C.

It was directed, 'To the King's most Excellent Majesty, and the Lords and Peers assembled in Parliament:' and was intended to have been presented in the House of Lords, the King being present, although it was presented in the absence of the King. See [Hacket's] Life of Archbishop Williams, par. 2, p. 178.—H. W.

It is also extant in Rushworth, p. 466; in Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 490; in Hacket's Life of Williams, p. 178.

[n] [" Here insert the Petition which is here annexed."—Laud's marg. direction. The Petition is not in the orig. MS.]

[o] 'up,' Rushw.

[p] 'debatable' Rushw.

[q] Rushw.

[r] 'Lords and Peers' Rushw.

[s] 'their duties' Rushw.

[t] 'and the maintenance thereof,' Rushw.

[u] 'move them to adhere.' Rushw.

[x] 'can find' Rushw.

sundry complaints made to both Houses in that particular[y]: they likewise[z] protest before your Majesty and that noble House of Peers, that saving to themselves all their rights and interests of sitting and voting in your[a] House at other times, they dare not sit to[b] vote in the House of Peers, unless[c] your Majesty shall further secure them from all affronts, indignities, and danger in the premises. Lastly, whereas their fears are not built upon fancies and conceits, but upon such grounds and objects, as may well terrify men of great[d] resolution and much constancy; they do, in all humility and duty, protest before your Majesty, and the Peers of this[e] most honourable House of Parliament, against all votes[f], resolutions, and determinations; and that they are in themselves null, and of no effect, which in their absence since the twenty-seventh of [this instant month[g]] December, 1641, have already passed, and likewise against all such as shall hereafter pass in that most honourable Assembly[h], during such[i] time of their[k] forced and violented[l] absence from the said most honourable House: not denying, but if their absenting of themselves were wilful and voluntary, that most noble[m] House might proceed in all these premises, their absence and[n] protestation notwithstanding. And humbly beseecheth your most excellent Majesty, to command the Clerk of the House 186
of Peers to enter this their Petition and Protestation in their[o] records.

"They will ever pray God to bless and preserve, &c.

"Jo. Eborac., (Williams.) Geo. Hereford, (Coke.)
Tho. Duresme, (Morton.) Rob. Oxon, (Skinner.)
Rob. Co. Lich., (Wright.) Ma. Ely, (Wren.)
Jos. Norwich, (Hall.) Godfr. Glouc., (Goodman.)
Jo. Asaphen., (Owen.) Jo. Peterburg, (Towers.)
Guil. Ba. & Wells, (Pearce.) Mor. Llandaff, (Owen.)"

[y] 'these particulars:' Rushw.
[z] 'humbly' Rushw.
[a] 'that' Rushw.
[b] 'or' Rushw.
[c] 'until' Rushw.
[d] 'good' Rushw.
[e] 'that' Rushw.
[f] 'laws, orders, votes,' Rushw.
[g] [Rushw.]
[h] 'House,' Rushw.
[i] 'the' Rushw.
[k] 'this their' Rushw.
[l] 'violent' Rushw.
[m] 'honourable' Rushw.
[n] 'or this their' Rushw.
[o] 'amongst his,' Rushw.

On Tuesday, January 4, his Majesty went into the House of Commons; some number of gentlemen accompanied him to the door, but no further. There he demanded the persons of Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Mr. Jo. Pymm, Mr. Jo. Hampden, and Mr. Wi. Strode, whom, together with the Lord Kimbolton, Sir Ed. Herbert, his Majesty's Attorney-General, had the day before charged with high treason, in the Upper House, upon seven articles of great consequence. It seems they had information of the King's coming, and were slipped aside. This made a mighty noise on all hands. But the business was so carried, that the House adjourned to sit in a Committee at Guild-Hall, and after at the Grocer's-Hall: where things were so ordered, that within two or three days, these men were, with great salutes of the people, brought, and in a manner guarded to the Committee, and after to the House at Westminster; and great stir made to and fro, about the accusation of these men, and the breach of the privileges of Parliament, by his Majesty's[1] coming thither in that manner. Things were carried in a higher strain than ever before. The King left the city, and withdrew privately, first to Hampton-Court, after that to Windsor. Many puttings on and puttings off, concerning this and other great affairs, between the King and the House; all which I leave to public records, as not concerning this poor history[2]: yet could not omit to say thus much in the general; because much of the Church-business as well as the State's, and much of mine as well as the Church's, will depend upon it. Januar. 4, 164$\frac{2}{3}$.

[1] ['Majesty's' in marg.] [2] ['history:' originally written 'story:']

CAP. XII.

Janua. 20, 164$\frac{2}{1}$. UPON Thursday, Janua. 20, upon no complaint that I know (for I am sure I never deserved any in that kind), there was an order made in the Lords' House to take away my arms[a]. They stood me in above three hundred pounds. I provided them for the service of the State, as need might require; I never employed any of them to any the least disservice of it[1], nor ever had thought to do. Yet the order is as follows, both to my disgrace to have them so taken from me, and to my loss; for though the Sheriffs of London be to take them upon inventory, yet of whom shall I demand them, when they are out of their office?

"[*Die*] *Jovis*, 20 *Janua.* 1641.

"It is this day ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that the Sheriffs of the City of London, or either of them, shall receive by inventory all such ordnance and other arms as belong to any private persons, which are to be kept to their uses, remaining now at Fox-Hall, Can(83)terbury-House, the Archbishop of York's house in Westminster, and in the Bishop of Winchester's house (a fit proportion of arms being left at each place for necessary security thereof): the said Sheriffs being to receive their directions from a Committee lately appointed by the Parliament. But the intents of the Lords are, and it is further ordered, that such ordnance and arms as do belong to his Majesty, shall be forthwith sent unto the King's magazine in the Tower."

Feb. 6, 164$\frac{2}{1}$. Upon Saturday, Feb. 6, the Bill passed, that the Bishops should have no votes in Parliament nor have to do in civil affairs[2 b]. This was mightily struggled for almost all this session, and now obtained. The Bishops have ever had this

[1] ['of it,' in marg.] [2] ['nor have . . . affairs.' in marg.]

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[a] P. 91 [of orig. MS. It should be p. 88. See vol. iv. p. 9.]

[b] Vide Rushw. par. iii. vol. i. p. 276, 278, 280, 281, 282, 396, 397, 553. He saith it was passed by the King on Monday, Febr. 14.

in right and possession ever since there was any use of Parliaments in England, which the ancientest family of the nobility which now sit there, and thrust them out, cannot say. There was great joy upon the passing of this Bill in both Houses, and in some parishes of London ringing and bonfires. The King gave way to this Bill, and so that is settled; and if it after prove that the King and kingdom have joy in it, it is well. But it may be, that the effects of this eclipse may work further than is yet thought on, and the blackness of it darken the temporal lords'[1] power more than is yet feared. And here I must tell you two things: the one, that for the compassing of their ends in this Bill, the now-become-usual art was pursued, and the people came in multitudes, and clamoured for the outing of the Bps'. and the Popish lords' votes (so they were still joined[2]) out of the House. Insomuch that not the people of London only, but
188 petitioners were brought out of divers counties with petitions either sent unto them, or framed ready for them here against they came; and they in every petition for preservation of the privileges of Parliament desired the taking away of the bishops' and the Popish lords' votes out of the House, as if it were a common grievance[3]. The other, that now the bishops have their votes taken away by Act of Parliament, you shall not see in haste any Bill at all pass for taking away the votes of the Popish lords; which will infer this, as well as some other things, that these were joined together to make the bishops more odious to the people, as if they were popishly affected themselves, and to no other end.

The Court removed from Windsor to Hampton-Court, and on Thursday, Febr. 10, the King and Queen came to Green- Feb. 10,
wich; and on Friday, Feb. 11, they went from thence toward Feb. 11, 1641.
Dover, the Queen resolving to go into Holland with her young[4] daughter the Princess Mary, who the year before was married to the Prince of Orange his son. But the true cause of this intended journey was, to be out of the fears, discontents, and dangers, as she conceived, of the present times. And doubtless her discontents were many and great;

[1] ['the temporal lords'' originally written 'lords'']
[2] ['(so they were still joined)' in marg.]
[3] ['as if ... grievance.' in marg.]
[4] ['young' interlined.]

and what her dangers might have been by staying, or may be by going, God alone knows.

His Majesty, while he was upon that journey, sent a message to both Houses. This was printed Febr. 14. By this the King puts all into the hands of the Parliament. His words are: "Concerning the government and Liturgy of the Church, his Majesty is willing to declare, that he will refer that whole consideration to the wisdom of his Parliament, which he desires them to enter into speedily, that the present distractions about the same may be composed; but desires not to be pressed to any single act on his part, till the whole be so digested and settled by both Houses, that his Majesty may clearly see what is fit to be left, as well as what is fit to be taken away[c]." So here they are made masters of all, and in a time of great exasperation against the clergy and the bishops, and their votes being newly thrust out of the House. So God bless the poor Church of England, for I very much fear this can bode no good.

Feb. 14, 164¾.

The same day, being Monday, there came an order from the Lords, that the twelve bishops[d] which were committed Decemb. 30, might put in bail if they would; and that they should have their hearing (84) upon Friday, Febr. 25. They were glad men, procured their bail, and went out of the Tower on Wednesday, Feb. 16[e]. This order of the Lords was known to the House of Commons well enough; yet they would take no notice of it, nor offer to stay the bishops[f]. But on Wednesday[1], after they were sure the bishops were come forth and gone to their several lodgings, they sent a message to the Lords that they desired the bishops might be presently remanded[g] to safe custody, or else they might and would protest against their Lps. for breach of the privileges of their House: because, being impeached by them, the Lords had bailed them, without acquainting them first with it in a parliamentary way. This message was very high, and

Feb. 16, 1641.

[1] ['Wednesday,' originally written 'Wednesday night,']

[c] It may be found entire in Rushw. p. 554.

[d] P. 82 [of orig. MS. See above, p. 452.]

[e] [See Lords' Journals, vol. iv. p. 584.]

[f] See Rushw. p. 555.

[g] [See Lords' Journals, vol. iv. p. 590.]

so delivered by Mr. Denzil Hollis. The Lords yielded; and the poor bishops were brought back again to the Tower the next morning, Febr. 17; but with an order that they should Feb. 17.
not pay new fees, and with a promise that their cause should
189 be heard on Saturday, Febr. 19. I will not so much as dis- Feb. 19.
pute any privilege of the House of Commons, and I presume the Lords were not willing to break any. This I am sure of, that as this business was carried, though the bishops had a great indignity and scorn put upon them, yet that which was put upon the Lords was far greater, and might certainly have been carried in a smoother way on all hands[1].

On Saturday, Febr. 19, according to appointment, the Feb. 19, 164⅔.
twelve bishops were all at the House; and at the bar, Mr. Glin[h] pressed the charge of high treason against them in the name of the House of Commons. The bishops said not much, but their counsel were very earnest that they might be presently heard; but they were not admitted to speak[2]. And so the business was put off to Thursday, Febr. 24. That night, when the Commons were returned into their own House, there was a motion made to proceed against the bishops by Bill[i], and not in the other ordinary way.

[1] [Here inserted originally, but erased, 'The Bps'. counsel laboured to gain that' (*sic*).] [2] ['to speak." in marg.]

[h] [Sergeant-at-law. He had also been employed against the Earl of Strafford.]

[i] P. 85 [of orig. MS. See below, p. 461.]

CAP. XIII. 190

Feb. 20, 164$\frac{2}{1}$. ON Sunday, Feb. 20, there came a tall gentleman, by the name of Mr. Hunt, to my lodging in the Tower, to speak with me: I was then in my bed-chamber, speaking with Mr. Edward Hyde [a], one of the House of Commons. I went forth to speak with this Mr. Hunt [1]. When I came, he professed, that though he was unknown to me, yet he came to do me service in a great particular: and prefaced it further, that he was not set on to come to me by any statesman, or by any of the Parliament; nor did expect any reward, but only was desirous to serve me. I wondered what the matter should be. Then he drew a paper out of his pocket, and gave it me to read. It contained four Articles, fairly written, and drawn up against me to the Parliament. All of them were touching my near conversation with priests, and my endeavour by them to subvert religion in England. He told me, when I had read them, that the Articles were not yet put into the House. They were subscribed by one Willoughby, who, he said, was a priest, but now turned, and come away from them. I asked him what service it was that by this he could do to me. He said, he left me to think on that; but professed he looked for no advantage to himself. I conceived hereupon this was some piece of villany, and bade him tell Willoughby from me, that he was a villain to subscribe such a paper; and for the Articles, let him put them into the Parliament when he pleased. Mr. Hunt desired me to take nothing ill from him, for he meant me service. I replied, that he came to me civilly, and used me in speech like a gentleman; but Willoughby was in this as I had called him. I left him and his paper, and returned to Mr. Hyde into my bed-chamber. There I told him and my servant, Mr. Richard Cobb, all that passed; and they

[1] ['this Mr. Hunt.' in marg. Originally written, 'with him.']

[a] [Afterwards the celebrated Earl of Clarendon.]

were glad I gave him so short and so cursed[b] an answer, and did think, as I myself did, that it was a plot to entrap me.

(85) After they were gone, I sat thinking with myself, and was very sorry that my indignation at this base villany had made me so hasty to send Hunt away, and that I did not desire Mr. Lieutenant of the Tower to seize on him, till he brought forth this Willoughby. I am since informed, that this Hunt is a gentleman that hath spent all or most of his means; and I verily believe this was a plot between him and Willoughby to draw money from me to conceal the Articles; in which way had I complied with him, I had utterly undone myself. But I thank God for His mercy to me, I am innocent, and defy in this kind what any man can truly say against me.

On Friday, Mar. 4, the two bishops which were at Mr. Maxwell's, namely, Thomas Moreton, Bp. of Duresme, and Robert Wright, Bp. of Coventry and Lichfield, having formerly petitioned, were present in the House of Commons to speak for themselves; and they did so. At the same time the petition of the other ten Bps. which were in the Tower, 191 which was sent into that House upon the example of the other two, was read. After this a Committee was named to draw up a Bill[c]. But what it shall contain is not yet known: so herein they departed not from their former resolution. Mar. 4, 164$\frac{2}{3}$.

On Sunday, Mar. 6, after I came from sermon, I walked in a large room, of which I had the use, before I went to dinner: and after I had walked a pretty while, expecting some company, upon the sudden, as I walked on, I heard a great crack, as loud as the report of a small dag[d], to my thinking. And being near me, I had a conceit that one of the boards brake under me; but it was[1] a tendon of my right leg which brake asunder, God knows how. For I was upon plain boards, and had no uneven step nor slip, not so much as a turning of my foot aside upon any chink. This tendon, or part of the main sinew above my heel, brake just in the same place where I had unhappily broken it before, Febr. 5, 162$\frac{8}{9}$, Mar. 6, 164$\frac{2}{3}$. Feb. 5, 162$\frac{8}{9}$.

[1] ['it was' interlined.]

[b] [The word is in this sense usually spelled 'curst.' Wharton had substituted the word 'harsh.']

[c] P. 84 [of original MS. See above, p. 459].

[d] [A pistol.]

as I was waiting upon King Charles to Hampton-Court [c]. But I recovered of it, and could go strongly upon plain ground. God be merciful unto me, now that He is pleased to humble [me] yet further, and to take from me the use of my limbs, the only comfort, under Him, in the midst of my afflictions. And this lameness continued two whole months, before I was able to go down stairs to take any air to refresh myself; and long after, before I received any competent measure of strength [t].

[t] ['and long . . . strength.' inserted afterwards; the last five words in margin.]

[c] [See above, pp. 82, 207, 244.]

[The following Petition, omitted in its proper place, is here inserted.

Lords' Journals, Dec. 23, 1640.

"*To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal assembled in the High Court of Parliament.*

"The humble Petition of William Laud, Archbishop of Cant.

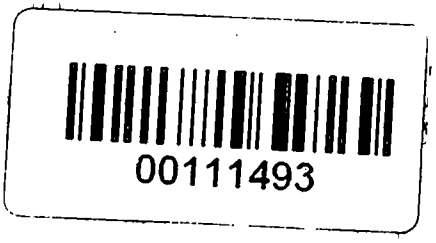
"Humbly showeth,

"That whereas your Lordships' petitioner, when he was to withdraw and leave that honourable Assembly, gave offence to your Lordships in something which passed from him in his speech (of Dec. 18), he is very heartily sorry for the same, and most humbly prayeth that your Lordships will pass by that passionate offence, pressed from your petitioner by the weight and unexpectedness of the charge which fell upon him.

"And further, that your honourable Lordships would be pleased to grant, that your humble petitioner may have some liberty to take the air, for his health's sake, under what safeguard your Lordships shall please to think fit; and this, in regard his health begins to fail him already, by reason the house where he is, hath no place in which he can take any fresh air at all.

"And your Lordships' humble petitioner shall ever pray for your Lordships' happiness."

Order was given that the Archbishop might take the air, and speak with persons in the company of Mr. Maxwell.]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